THE IMPERIAL CULT
IN THE
LATIN WEST
I,1

ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

PUBLIÉES PAR

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THE IMPERIAL CULT IN THE LATIN WEST

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of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire

VOLUME I,1

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PREFACE

Twenty-five years ago, when I first became interested in ruler worship, I had the idea of writing a general account of the imperial cult in the Latin West. A few months' research was sufficient to show that such a plan was out of the question. Too little work had been done in too vast a field and the verdict seemed confirmed by the obvious difficulties experienced in this regard by such major works as the second volume of F. Taeger's *Charisma* or the encyclopaedic contribution of L. Cerfaux and J. Tondriau, *Le Culte des Souverains dans la Civilization gréco-romaine.* It is hardly coincidence that the valuable papers collected in W. den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte des Souverains dans l'Empire romain* have preferred to focus on problems central to the ruler cult and its ideology rather than on matters arising from its local application in the empire. What is badly needed now is a series of monographs that will investigate emperor worship *by provinces* or *cities*, and as a first step analyze the nature and extent of the practice at the various levels of provincial society, preferably along the lines of R. Etienne's *Le Culte impérial dans la Péninsule ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien.* Only at that stage will a comprehensive synthesis of the full evidence become practical.

In the meantime it may be of help if I pull together the results of my own research. Re-publishing articles seems to have become something of an epidemic nowadays but the practice is usually justified on the grounds that it serves everyone's convenience to have papers on a common topic or by a common author gathered together under one cover. While the following volumes might claim some excuse on both these grounds, it will be seen that three-quarters of the material is in fact new and that the rest has all been revised, in some cases substantially. The order in which the essays are presented has also been adapted to fit the requirements of an anthology divided into three separate but interrelated 'books' of studies, each *in se stante.* Such a format runs the risk that arguments may have to be re-stated from paper to paper; but as far as possible I have kept repetition to a minimum and trust that what remains, while bothersome to anyone reading from cover to cover, will be of service to the more casual reader who is content to glance through, consulting in detail an article here and there.

My main concern in Book I is with the installation and development of the imperial cult in the Western, that is to say the Latin-speaking provinces of the Roman empire in the period from Augustus down to the Severi. I have attempted in this section to be exhaustive and to include all relevant material to which I had access; no doubt the outline proposed will require revision and modification as new evidence accrues (Volume I). Book II deals with such concepts as the emperors' *genius* and *numen*, Augustan gods and Augustan abstractions, dedications to the emperor *ut deo*, and *domus divina*. Aside from articles on specialized topics such as the imperial *numen* in Roman Britain, these essays are based on a selection of the total evidence and are more in the nature of prolegomena to the study of problems that in some cases merit treatment at book length. The last piece is a short monograph on liturgy and ceremonial in which the emphasis is once again on the West but much of the comparative evidence is necessarily drawn from the eastern provinces; the treatment can consequently be considered relevant to the empire as a whole (Volume II). The final Book consists primarily of a synopsis of the main development of provincial, municipal, private and military cults of the emperor in the provinces of the Latin West, to the extent that this begins to emerge. I had originally intended to steer well clear of an overall picture on the grounds that too many gaps remain to be filled; but as a definitive synthesis clearly lies in the distant future I thought it worthwhile to attempt a provisional account—to some extent programmatic— in the manner of an interim report on a partially excavated archaeological site (Volume III). By way of epilogue I have appended an essay on the theology of the Roman emperor. No study of the imperial cult would be complete without it and the topic is one currently in fashion (Volume IV). Lastly, it seemed essential to set the Western ruler cult in its historical context. The resulting 'Introduction' has come out longer than originally intended but I was conscious throughout of the lack of any recent survey in English of the Hellenistic or Republican background. So, until a detailed treatment puts in an appearance, the introductory chapters may perhaps stand in their own right as a convenient outline, a modest supplement to L. R. Taylor's still fundamental account, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*.

It is a most agreeable duty to thank all who have helped me over the years. Their numbers are too great for any detailed accounting but I would mention I. A. Richmond and F. M. Heichelheim, who gave advice and encouragement at an early stage. I learned a lot from A. Alföldi, H. G. Pflaum and G. Walser, who kindly allowed me to use his seminar library for many years, and have benefited more recently from conversations and correspondence with G. Alföldy, A. Audin, W. den Boer, M. Le Glay and R. MacMullen. I am particularly indebted to F. R. S. Price, who read through the Hellenistic part of the Introduction and suggested numerous references; the talks I had with him were most helpful in straightening out my ideas on the emperor's 'divinity'. Thanks are likewise due to P. Herz, who read the monograph on liturgy and ceremonial and also provided advice and references. Responsibility for all errors and omissions remains, of course, my own. Much of the work was done overseas and would have been impossible without generous financial support over the years from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of

Canada. During the preparation of the final text I was impressed by the readiness of so many museums and their curators to help in providing the plates I had requested; the same is true of individual scholars who generously gave me copies of their photographs. The manuscript was typed by Mrs. M. Potter, without whose palaeographic skills and heroic patience through so many revisions these volumes would never have reached the press. Finally, a special word of thanks to the editor, Maarten J. Vermaseren. Not only did he welcome my *ICLW* to *EPRO* but he has arranged for a new branch of the series to be devoted to the Imperial Cult. Further volumes in the field will be published under my supervision in close collaboration with the general editor and we are hopeful that future authors will cover most aspects of the cult of the Roman emperor. In conclusion I would like to thank my wife for her understanding and forebearance during all the years in which this project was in gestation.

Edmonton, Alberta

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Beaujeu, *Rel. Rom.*	J. Beaujeu, *La Religion romaine à l'Apogée de l'Empire*, Paris, 1955.
den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte*	W. den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte des Souverains dans l'Empire romain* (Foundation Hardt, Entretiens 19), Geneva, 1972.
Cerfaux-Tondriau	*L. Cerfaux and J. Tondriau, Le Culte des Souverains dans la Civilization gréco-romaine* (Bibl. de Théol., ser. 3,5), Tournai, 1957.
Deininger, *Provinziallandtage*	J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis zum Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Vestigia 6) Munich, 1965.
Etienne, *Culte impérial*	R. Etienne, *Le Culte impérial dans la Péninsule ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (Bibl. des Ecoles franc. d'Athènes et de Rome 191), Paris, 1958.
Kornemann, "Herrscherkulte"	E. Kornemann, "Zur Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte", *Klio* 1 (1901), 51-146.
Latte, *RRG*	K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte*^{2} (Handb. d. Altertumswiss. 5,4), Munich, 1967 (1976).
Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}	M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (Handb. d. Altertumswiss. 5,2), Munich, 1974.
Taylor, *Divinity*	L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, Middletown, Connecticut, 1931; reprinted 1981.
Taeger, *Charisma*	F. Taeger, *Charisma*, Vol. 2, Stuttgart, 1960.
Weinstock, *D. J.*	S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, Oxford, 1971.
Wissowa, *RuKR*^{2}	G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (Handb. d. Altertumswiss. 4,5) Munich, 1912.

Journals are abbreviated as in *L'Année Philologique* with modifications customary in English.

INTRODUCTION

I. HEROES, MEN AND GODS

Greek city-states of the Classical period were accustomed to reward their benefactors with posthumous honours in the form of a cult.[1] To bury a man in the *agora* and worship him there with altar and sacrifices was accepted as the reward of ἀρετή (cf. Aristotle, *NE* 7, 1, 2: 1145a, 22 f.) and a legitimate way of showing gratitude on the part of the community he had served. Founders of cities were particularly so honoured—the Elder Miltiades in the Thracian Chersonese (Hdt. 6, 38), Brasidas at Amphipolis (Thuc. 5, 11)—but the same form of cult was also paid to those who had benefited their city in other ways: Harmodius and Aristogeiton, the tyrant-slayers (Demosth. 19, 280), or Theagenes, the athlete of Thasos (Paus, 6, 11, 8).[2] The famous example of Drimacus, the leader in a slave revolt who was honoured by the Chians (Athenaeus 266D), shows that in principle no one was barred from this form of distinction—founders, war-heroes, liberators and philanthropists, but also poets, law-givers, philosophers and victors in the Olympic games.[3] So Plato can observe of the guardians of the city that when they depart this life:

> μνημεῖα δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ θυσίας
> τὴν πόλιν δημοσίᾳ ποιεῖν, ἐὰν καὶ ἡ Πυθία συναναιρῇ, ὡς
> δαίμοσιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὡς εὐδαίμοσί τε καὶ θείοις.
>
> (*Rep.* 540 B/C)

Plato's philosopher-kings aside, all of these are historical figures, but the cult offered them broadly corresponds to that originally given to the imaginary 'heroes' of myth and legend.[4] Hero-cult would normally be paid at the real or supposed tomb of an individual and in some ways resembled that offered to other chthonian powers.[5] In particular it shared such features of the cult of the dead as a holy area called σηκός, not τέμενος, and a low altar or ἐσχάρα rather than the high Olympian βωμός. When sacrifice was preferred to libations, this would be performed at dusk and the blood of the black victim

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[1] See the basic account of Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 135-145; F. Taeger, *Charisma. Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkultes*, Stuttgart, 1957, 1, 86-168; Cerfaux-Tondriau 101-121; Ch. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte*^{2} (Zetemata 14), Munich, 1970, 200-205; *RE* 11 (1922) 2083-7 s.v. *ktistes* (Prehn).

[2] L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero-Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, Oxford, 1921, 361-372; J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'Histoire et les Cultes de Thasos*, Paris, 1954, 62-105.

[3] See the lists compiled by Cerfaux-Tondriau 459-466.

[4] A. D. Nock, "The Cult of Heroes", *HThR* 37 (1944), 141-173 (= A. D. Nock [ed. Z. Stewart], *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1972, 2, 575-602); Nilsson, *GGR*^{3} 1, 184-191; W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, Stuttgart, 1977, 312-319;

[5] Burkert, *o.c.* 306-312.

(usually not shared among the worshippers) left to drip into a trench. But in other respects the rites matched those appropriate to the worship of Olympian deities. A hero could have his place in the precinct of a god or a share in the god's sacrifice[6] and instances are commonplace where sacrifice was made to a hero ὡς θεῷ, a clear sign that the dividing line between hero and god was in practice neither sharp nor rigid. A good deal of argument as to whether ruler cult is descended from the cult of heroes or the cult of the gods is therefore beside the point if Heracles, for example, can enjoy both forms of veneration or the athlete Theagenes receive sacrifices ἅτε θεῷ.[7]

There is evidence to suggest that by the early fourth century B.C. a living man too could be offered cult similar to that paid a hero. One begins to find that honours originally heroic in nature are now extended to a man before death—the naming of tribes after him, for example. A living founder can receive the honours traditionally offered to a dead κτίστης and the altar of a man might be erected in the ἀγορά during his lifetime as the centre of his cult.[8] Thus Dion of Syracuse is said to have been paid honours in his lifetime by the Syracusan assembly,[9] honours that Diodorus (admittedly writing much later than the events he relates) describes as "heroic" (16, 20, 6).[10] All this tends to confirm that the outlook underlying the worship of a living man had elements in common with that behind the hero-cult of the dead. After all, if worship was a way of expressing gratitude, why not offer a living benefactor or deliverer the honours that would certainly have been his had he died?[11] It seems reasonable to hold, then, that the custom of rendering divine honours to the living was foreshadowed in features of the heroic honours that had long been paid to dead benefactors. As Habicht has stressed, there is a correspondence in motive, also in the circumstance that in both cases the cult is of local application.[12] What is different is the exclusion of elements specific to the dead, a factor which seems to answer Nilsson's objection that a living man would hardly be honoured in a way appropriate to a deceased.[13] Yet to link the cult of a living man with the earlier cult of heroes would be valid only for the Greek city-states. From here the idea was transferred to the dynastic cults of the Hellenistic monarchs, where the universal character of the Ptolemaic or Seleucid empire excludes any connection with local Greek hero-cult and the only proper comparison is between royal cults and the cults of the gods, on which they were directly modelled. All the same, the idea of paying cult to a man in his lifetime is essentially Greek. Insuperable difficulties attend any attempt to find its origin in the divinity of the Egyptian Pharaoh or in concepts (often confused) of oriental kingship in Asia Minor. [14]

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[6] A. D. Nock, "Σύνναος Θεός" *HSCP* 41 (1930), 1-62 (= *Essays* [above, note 4] 202-251) at 44 f.

[7] H. S. Versnel, "Heersercultus in Griekenland", *Lampas* 7 (1974), 129-163 at 145-148, cf. 147 f., noting the interesting case of Amphiaraus. For Heracles see Burkert (above, note 4) 319-324. See further Addenda, below. p. 185.

[8] Habicht, *o.c.* 205, with refs.

[9] On the contradictory account of Plutarch the people acclaimed Dion as 'saviour and god' (*Dion* 46, 1) and, when Dion earlier entered the city in 357, the Syracusans greeted him 'as a god' (29, 1). For discussion see E. Will, *R Ph* 34 (1960), 82, n. 1; further E. A. Fredricksmeyer, "On the Background of the Ruler Cult" in *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of Charles F. Edson* (Publ. Inst. Balkan Studies 158), Thessaloniki, 1982, 190-201 at 197 f; E. Badian, "The Deification of Alexander the Great", *ibid.* 27-71 at 42 f.

[10] For the view that Diodosus is using the word "heroic" in a non-technical sense see Nilsson, *Gnomon* 29 (1957), 215; *GGR*^{3}2, 143f., noting that by the first century B.C. even a living man can be called hero. (For Augustus addressed as ἥρως see P. Oxy. 3020: fr. 1, col. ii, li.) But see Habicht's earlier rejoinder to Taeger in *Gottmenschentum* 204, n. 47; further 255 f.

[11] M. P. Charlesworth, "Some Observations on Ruler-Cult, especially in Rome", *HThR* 28 (1935), 5-44 at 11 f.

[12] Above, note 1.

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[13] Above, note 10; Habicht *o.c.* 266-268. Hero-cult was subsequently reserved for lesser lights such as the associates of rulers. See below Intr. II, note 49.

[14] Nilsson, *GGR*³2, 136; Nock (above, note 6) 61; Habicht 201, n. 3 with refs; P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford, 1972, 2. 362 f., n. 198. Against H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, Chicago, 1948, see now G. Posener, *De la Divinité du Pharaon*, Paris, 1960; cf. Fraser *ibid.* n. 202.

II. HELLENISTIC RULER CULT

Until the closing decades of the fifth century B.C. the city-states of Greece remained to a greater or lesser degree the masters of their own fate; sufficient unto themselves, they needed only the help of the gods to protect them from other Greeks or invading Persians. As a result, no individual was able to gather overwhelming power into his own hands, no one had the authority or the prestige to startle men's imaginations.[1] On the contrary leaders were open to criticism and very mortal—not even tyrants made pretensions to divinity, or at least there is no trace of it in the sources. Allowance must also be made for the levelling effect of democracy, for the point of view that not to know one's place but to lift oneself above the ordinary human level, that was ὕβρις to be corrected by νέμεσις.

1. *Post-Classical Greece*

All this now changed with the onset of an age of political disintegration that coincided with a rapid decline in the authority of Delphi. With the growth of the big powers, Athens and Sparta, the gods could no longer save smaller states in the face of overwhelming might. Individualism was on the rise and representatives of states began to enjoy far greater power as a result of success in war, power which sometimes outran the ability of a state to control it. The subject now found himself much further below the ruler than before, almost an inferior species, and there was a return to conditions akin to those when society had known an all-powerful monarch: one who served as priest, general and judge.[2] So arose the cult of the ruler whose power could provide the blessings for which one had earlier prayed to the gods. If a man could literally save the state, if the city could depend on him for benefactions on the natural level in the way it had once depended solely on the gods, then why not treat him like a god by offering him cult such as one paid to Hera or Athene?[3] The idea might be extended to the point where rulers were said to be more efficacious than the gods themselves—even to replace the gods.[4] Rationalization was the inevitable consequence. How far that might go is shown by the doctrine of Euhemerus that the gods and goddesses of cities were nothing more than departed rulers and benefactors, an idea that in itself is of much older vintage.[5]

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[1] Nock, "Synnaos" (above, Intr. I; note 6) 62 (= *Essays* [above, Intr. I; note 4] 250).

[2] See P. Veyne, *Le Pain et le Cirque*, Paris, 1976, 563-565.

[3] H. J. Rose, *JHS* 77 (1957), 340; Habicht, *Gottmenschentum* (above, Intr I; note 1) 235 f.; cf. J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion*, Oxford, 1979, 67. See further Addeda, p. 185.

[4] Cerfaux-Tondriau 428 f. In the *Ithyphallikos* the Athenians greet Demetrius Polyorcetes in 291 B.C. as a true god really present, not one of wood or stone. See below p. 12, cf. 21. Cf. *Paneg. Lat*, 10 (2) 2, 5: *finguntur haec de Iove, sed de te vera sunt, imperator.*

Further causes for the spread of ruler worship are to be sought in the changing religious outlook that characterised the post-classical period. This vast topic must be largely taken for granted here but attention might be drawn to two tendencies of particular significance. At one extreme there is an intensification of religiosity and personal piety seen at its most grotesque in the practice of magic;[6] at the other the Sophistic period is marked by increasing scepticism towards the gods.[7] First Plato had held that the gods cannot be trusted to protect the just since they are open to bribery in the forms of prayers, sacrifices and the like.[8] Then before the end of the fourth century Epicurus could teach that the poor, thin gods, living their blessed life in the *intermundia*, care nothing for the world or how men behaved.[9] In such a context, as the human was raised nearer to the divine, the cult of the πολιοῦχος might take its place beside the cults of the gods.[10] Such a ruler was Lysander, who Plutarch says enjoyed more power than any Greek before him (*Lys.* 18, 2). Yet Lysander's reported cult at Samos may have been posthumous rather than in his lifetime,[11] as commonly held, and in other instances that have been adduced[12] the ancient evidence falls short of documenting any certain case of deification during the next seventy years or so.[13] The main development was reserved for the larger world created by Alexander the Great and his successors, when a cult of the ruler would be the only appropriate response to monarchs who controlled the fate of millions.[14]

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[5] See in general H. F. van der Meer, *Euhemoros of Messene*, Diss. Amsterdam, 1948; H. Dörrie, *Der Königskult des Antiochus von Kommagene im Lichte neuer Inschriftenfunde: Abh. Akad der Wiss. Göttingen* 60 (1964), 218 f. Nilsson, *GGR*³2, 182, 286-289. For the deification of gods by ordinance of Theseus see A. D. Nock, "Neotera, Queen or Goddess?", *Aegyptus* 33 (1953), 283-296 at 284, citing Athanasius, *Contra gentes* 10, col. 21C. See further A. Wardman, *Religion and Statecraft among the Romans*, Baltimore, 1982, 94.

[6] M. P. Nilsson, *Greek Piety*, Oxford, 1948, 84-91, 108 f.; *id.*, *GGR*³2, 185-200.

[7] Burkert, *Griechische Religion* (above, Intr. I; note 4) 452 ff.

[8] Plato, *Rep.* 2, 365 D-366A; *Laws* 10, 885B and throughout.

[9] J. M. Rist, *Epicurus. An Introduction*, London, 1972, 140-163.

[10] Habicht, *Gottmenschentum* (above, Intr. I; note 1) 235, suggests that the cult of the ruler might even become a surrogate for the cult of the gods. For a reaction to the standard picture of decaying civic cults see S. R. F. Price, "Between Man and God: Sacrifice in the Roman Imperial Cult," *JRS* 70 (1980), 28-43 at 28. See further Addenda, p. 185.

[11] So Badian, "Deification" (above, Intr. I; note 9) 33-38; *contra* Habicht, *o.c.* 3-6, 243; Nilsson, *GGR*³2, 139 f.

[12] Nilsson, *o.c.* 141 f.; Habicht, *o.c.* 8-16; Fredricksmeyer, "Background" (above, Intr. I; note 9) 191 f., 194-201; *id.*, "Divine Honors for Philip II", *TAPA* 109 (1979), 39-61.

[13] See now the arguments of Badian, "Deification" 38-44, 67-71.

[14] Veyne, *Pain et Cirque* (above, note 2) 586 f.

2. *Alexander*

The career of Alexander[15] with his shattering conquest of the East is critical to the idea of the god-king and to the evolving practice of ruler worship.[16] The key event is Alexander's visit to the oracle of Ammon at the oasis of Siwa in January, 331 B.C.[17] Alexander's purpose in undertaking this difficult journey into the Sahara is not easy to determine when our primary sources are lost beyond a few fragments in later authors. The older view of Wilcken, Tarn and others was that in part he wished to emulate Perseus and Heracles, but his main motive was to enquire into the future before the decisive struggle with Darius.[18] More recently Taeger has followed earlier scholars in arguing from Arrian (3, 3, 2) that what Alexander wanted was confirmation of the conviction he already had of his descent from Zeus.[19] That at least is what his mother Olympias is said to have claimed;[20] but ideas of divinity currently in the air and his own extraordinary deeds must also have swayed Alexander to belief in his own divine birth.[21] We do not know exactly what he asked or what reply he got, but it seems clear that the priest at Siwa recognized him as son of Ammon.[22] Evidently the answer made a great impression on Alexander, especially when other oracles said the same;[23] more importantly the event caused a great stir in the Greek world and played a major role in creating the myth of Alexander as son of god.[24] Yet in all this there was nothing new. In Pharaonic theory every king of Egypt was by definition the son of Amun Re; so in recognizing Alexander as such, now that he was ruler of Egypt, the priest was simply following the rules.[25] Nevertheless, since Amun (= Ammon) was identified with Zeus, the process of Egyptian religion implied recognition of Alexander as son of Zeus[26]—with far-reaching implications for the Greek world. As Taeger stresses, the episode gave form and life to abstract notions of divinity by linking them with an outstanding personality. It thus provides the point of departure for the whole subsequent development of Hellenistic ruler cult.

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[15] For bibliography see in particular E. Badian, "Alexander the Great 1948-1967," *CW* 65 (1971) 37-56; 77-83; J. Seibert, *Alexander der Grosse* (Erträge der Forschung 10), Darmstadt, 1972.

[16] Cerfaux-Tondriau 125-143; F. Taeger, *Charisma* (above, Intr. I; note 1) 179 ff.; *id.*, "Alexanders Gottkönigsgedanke und die Bewusstseinlage der Griechen und Makedonen" in *La Regalità Sacra*, Leiden, 1959, 394-406; Nilsson *GGR*^{3}2, 145-150; F. W. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, Brighton and New Jersey, 1981, 41-43.

[17] E. Fredricksmeyer, "Three Notes on Alexander's Deification," *AJAH* 4 (1979), 1, n. 6 with primary sources and bibl; P. Langer, "Alexander the Great at Siwah", *AncW* 4 (1981), 109-127.

[18] U. Wilcken, "Zur Entstehung des hellenistischen Königskultes", *Sonderausgabe Sitz. der Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.* 28 (1938), 3-7 (298-302) (= A. Wlosok [ed.], *Römischer Kaiserkult* [*WdF* Vol. 372], Darmstadt, 1978, 218 ff.); W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, Cambridge, 1948, 1, 42 f.; 2, 347-359; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, "The 'Divinity' of Alexander", *Historia* 1 (1950), 363-388 at 371, n. 39 with bibl. (= Wlosok [ed.], *Kaiserkult* 254 ff.).

[19] Taeger, *Charisma* 1, 192; *contra* Wilcken, *o.c.* 5 (300), n. 2. But see Brunt's analysis, *Arrian. History of Alexander and Indica, LCL* 1 (1976) Appendix V, especially pp. 472 ff. Further A. B. Bosworth, *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander*, Oxford, 1980, 1, 270-272. For Alexander's preconceived ideas of his divine parentage see also *id.*, "Alexander and Ammon" in K. H. Kinzl (ed.), *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History and Prehistory* (Studies Fritz Schachermeyr), Berlin and New York, 1977, 51-75 at 68 ff.

[20] The tale that Alexander had been fathered by a god in the form of a snake is later repeated in connection with Augustus; see "Gaius Iulius Caesar Octavianus", below, p. 80. For the background to legends of divine birth see Cerfaux-Tondriau 425; C. H. Talbert, "Biographies of Philosophers and Rulers as Instruments of Religious Propaganda in Mediterranean Antiquity," *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1619-1651 at 1633 f.

[21] Balsdon, "Divinity" (above, note 18) 363-371; Fredricksmeyer, "Divine Honors" (above, Intr. II; note 12) 58f. and throughout.

[22] For the sources see Fredricksmeyer, "Background" (above, Intr. I; note 9) 191, n. 4.

[23] Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 147; Taylor, *Divinity* 16; Badian, "Deification" 45-47.

Alexander's experiment with προσκυνήσις at Bactria is now generally recognized as a misguided endeavour to bring in a social gesture commonly made towards Persians of high rank;[27] it was not an outright attempt to introduce a cult act recognizing his divinity, though Alexander was well aware that for Greeks and Macedonians it implied precisely that and might consequently be offensive.[28] Of central significance is the spontaneous foundation of cults of Alexander by one Greek city after another in Asia Minor, though their dates of institution are not at present recoverable.[29] All of these expressed gratitude and reverence to a liberator who had freed them from Persian domination and are therefore of a piece with the cults of saviours and benefactors that are typical of so many individual πόλεις in the Hellenistic period. More problematical is the worship of Alexander within Greece itself.[30] Our sources make it clear that in the winter of 324/3 there was much debate at Athens and Sparta, conceivably also elsewhere, on the subject of divine honours for Alexander, also that an embassy from the cities was sent to Babylon in the spring of 323. But whether this came to honour Alexander as a god depends on one's translation of Arrian 7, 23, 2.[31] If the ambassadors came as *real* divine envoys (though mistakenly as it turned out), that could well imply cults of Alexander had already been instituted in several states of Greece. But if Arrian rather means *one might have thought* they were sacred envoys (from the extravagant way they behaved), then his irony leaves us with just piecemeal evidence—primarily at Athens, where a cult looks to have been installed, elsewhere very little of value apart from an aphorism at Sparta (see below). In any event nothing in the sources implies, much less confirms that Alexander himself requested divine honours, a theory propounded by E. Meyer, followed notably by Tarn.[32] Balsdon *post alios* is surely right that Alexander made no such move,[33] though whether everything was left to the initiative of the states themselves is another matter.[34]

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[24] For a list of Alexander's 'incarnations' see J. Tondriau, "Alexandre le Grand assimilé à différentes divinités," *RPh* 23 (1949), 41-52.

[25] A. Henrichs, "Vespasian's visit to Alexandria", *ZPE* 3 (1968), 51-80 at 58 f., following Wilcken *et al.* See further J. R. Fears, *Princeps a diis electus: The Divine Election of the Emperor as a Political Concept at Rome* (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 26), Rome, 1977, 20 f. Badian, "Deification" 45, notes that there is no mention in our sources of any coronation of Alexander as Pharaoh.

[26] For further identifications see H. Wrede, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum. Vergöttlichte Privatpersonen in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Mainz, 1981, 16 with bibl.

[27] Balson, "Divinity" (above, note 18) 371-382. But see Fredricksmeyer, "Background" (above, Intr. I; note 9) 190: *id.*, "Divine Honors" (above, note 12) 48. See further Addenda, p. 185.

[28] Badian, "Deification" 48-54.

[29] Habicht, *Gottmenschentum* 17-28, 254 f. Badian, *o.c.* 59-63, would assign any cults of the living Alexander in Asia to the last four years or so of his life.

[30] Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 149 f.; Habicht, *o.c.* 28-35; Fredricksmeyer, "Deification" (above, note 17) 1-9; Badian, *o.c.* 54-63.

[31] On Arrian's ὡς θεωροὶ δῆθεν see the methodical analysis of Fredricksmeyer, "Deification" 3-5 with Badian's rejoinder, *o.c.* 56-59.

What does seem clear is that Alexander very much wanted to be deified. That fact is basic to the debate at Athens and explicit in the reported words of the Spartans: "Since Alexander wishes to be a god, let him be a god" (Aelian, *Varia Historia* 2, 19; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 219e). If, then, a direct order from Alexander can be ruled out, one might still suppose a strong hint on which his partisans in the different cities could take action.[35] As for what he might have intimated, the most plausible suggestion is that Alexander wished that the Greek city-states should honour him as the son of Zeus-Ammon; in support we have the gibe of Demosthenes reported by Hyperides: "Let him be the son of Zeus, and of Poseidon, too, if he wishes" (*In Dem.* 31).[36] Whatever the facts may be, it is impossible to believe that Alexander's concern with the cultual recognition of himself could have had some ulterior legal motive behind it.[37] One must rather reckon with the impact of contemporary Greek ideas regarding the divine honours due to one who had performed superhuman feats and planned a universal empire[38]—doubtless fortified in this special case by the recognition at Siwa of his divine birth. Badian has suggested that Ammon might even have promised he would become a god in his lifetime.[39] On the other hand there is nothing to indicate that he ever contemplated an official cult of himself or his family; though if the impetus to establish cults in the Greek city-states did come partly from Alexander himself, in other words from without, that would anticipate in a way the dynastic cults of the Hellenistic kings.

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[32] E. Meyer, "Alexander der Grosse und die absolute Monarchie", *Kleine Schriften*^{2}, Halle and Saale, 1924, 1, 265-314 (= Wlosok [ed.], *Kaiserkult* 203 ff. [abridged]); Tarn, *Alexander* (above, note 18) 2, 370 f. For the history of the view see Habicht, *Gottmenschentum* 226, n. 10.

[33] "Divinity" 383-388.

[34] For Alexander's relationship with the Greek world see in general A. J. Heisserer, *Alexander the Great and the Greeks. The Epigraphic Evidence*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1980.

[35] See in general Wilcken, "Entstehung" (above, note 18) 7 f. (302 f.); Habicht, *o.c.* 229; Fredricksmeyer, "Deification" 5, n. 22 with refs.; *id.*, "Background" (above, Intr. I; note 7) 190, n. 2.

[36] Fredricksmeyer, "Deification" 5-7 with n. 25. On the sons of Poseidon as disreputable characters see Badian, *o.c.* 54, n. 43, citing A. Gellius 15, 21.

[37] Above, note 32. See now Badian, *o.c.* 59.

[38] Wilcken, "Entstehung" 8-10 (303-305); Habicht, *o.c.* 35 f., 273, Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (above, Intr. I; note 14) 1, 213, suggests Alexander saw that an existing trend in Greek city-life could be used to strengthen his own position vis à vis the city-states.

[39] *O.c.* 66.

3. *Cults of the City-States*

Ruler worship of the Hellenistic period divides into two main categories: the cults of single rulers that were spontaneously created by the free decision of individual *poleis*, and the state cults of the monarch officially imposed in the great kingdoms of the Hellenistic world. Both of these frequently existed side by side from the third century onwards and perhaps were not always clearly distinguished by the people that participated in them, especially if the recipient was one and the same person. It seems also safe to assume that the local attitude to ruler worship will have differed from one part of the world to another according to the mentality or social level of the indigenous population.[40]

The casual worship paid by Greek city-states was a voluntary offering of divine honours brought about through deliberate legislation: a ruler was made one of the official deities of the *polis* with his own cultual apparatus and honoured on a par with other civic deities. Essentially this was a way of honouring an individual person out of gratitude for the benefits his power had conferred, a point often emphasized by the use of such terms as founder (κτίστης), benefactor (εὐεργέτης) or saviour (σωτήρ). Since the ruler involved had exercised specific divine functions in benefiting a city, he was deemed worthy of ἰσόθεοι τιμαί—the highest honours possible for a deserving man—and paid homage in the form of a cult, not that this held any implication of a theological or legal nature.[41] In founding a cult as a token of esteem, a city might hope to encourage continued benefactions on the part of the individual honoured—or to secure the services of a prospective benefactor. As a result, ruler worship grew into a diplomatic exercise that served the various purposes of the interested parties; a cult could be and often was a sign of shrewd political calculation on the part of a city out to seek its own advantage.[42] In the end so widely did the practice spread that it became an unavoidable means of paying homage, with a built-in tendency to exaggeration and amplification in the variety and number of divine honours conferred.

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[40] Wlosok (ed.), "Einführung" in *Kaiserkult*, 15. See further, "Divinity and Worship" below, pp. 40 f.

[41] See the useful summary of Wlosok, *o.c.* 4, cf. 7.

[42] G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford, 1965, 112 f.

Even private citizens who had performed outstanding services might be rewarded with a public cult.[43]

There seems general agreement today that the Diadochi made no attempt to imitate Alexander in requiring divine honours for themselves; those who had fought at his side honoured Alexander too highly to wish to compete but sought rather to legitimize their claim to rule on the basis of a personal link with the conqueror.[44] The numerous foundations which honour the Diadochi in the Greek world are therefore to be seen as basically saviour cults in the established tradition, their variations and contradictions clearly attributable to local independence.[45] Civic worship of that kind was paid to an individual on account of his accomplishments, not *qua* ruler; indeed the recipient was as a rule an outsider.[46] But similar honours were later lavished on one after another of the Antigonids, Ptolemies, Seleucids and Attalids; and, while they made no demand, the Epigoni seem nevertheless to have gladly accepted ruler worship, whether as a flattering recognition of services rendered or because it simplified policy towards the city-state. In essence such recognition was much the same as that of the Diadochi period with the important difference that the local cults of the Seleucid Empire,[47] for example, concern a monarch they already have, one common to all. The topic has been treated in detail by Habicht, who has collected and analyzed evidence for the divine honours paid to rulers in Greek cities down to 240 B.C.[48] Among the scores of examples he lists undoubtedly the most striking are the honours offered by the Athenians to Antigonus the one-eyed and his son and co-regent Demetrius in recognition of Demetrius' feat in delivering them in 307 from the hated regime of Demetrius of Phalerum, also in 304 when Demetrius again saved Athens from Cassander. Apart from 'normal' honours such as priest, altar, sacrifices and golden statues, these are untypical in the sense that one could hardly go further in treating a man as a god.[49] Less excessive forms later become the norm.

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[43] A good example is the *isotheoi timai* paid to Diodorus Pasporus for services rendered to Pergamum. See C. P. Jones, "Diodorus Pasparos and the Nikephoria of Pergamon", *Chiron* 4 (1974), 183-205; cf. *Bull.Epig.* (1974) no. 466. See further Addenda, p. 185.

[44] Wilcken, "Entstehung" 10-13 (305-308); Nilsson, *GGR*³2, 150-154.

[45] Habicht, *o.c.* 37 ff.

[46] Cf. Wilcken's helpful distinction between "Herrscherkult" and the later dynastic "Königskult": above, note 44.

[47] Cerfaux-Tondriau 237-240.

[48] See also Taeger, *Charisma* 1, 255-286; further Addenda, p. 185.

[49] For details see Habicht 44-55; cf. K. Scott, "The Deification of Demetrius Poliorcetes", *AJPhil* 49 (1928), 137-166, 217-239; Cerfaux-Tondriau 173-187; Nilsson, *GGR*³2, 151 f.; Taeger *o.c.* 270-273; W. Haase, "Voraussetzungen und Motive des Herrscherkultes von Kommagene", in *Antike Welt: Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Urgeschichte* 6 (1975), *Sondernummer Kommagene* p. 3. See further below, p. 22. Note that according to the contemporary Demochares the associates of Demetrius Poliorcetes were paid what to all appearances is hero-cult (*F. Gr. H.* 75, F. 1).

4. *Dynastic Cults*

The second, very different, type is the dynastic worship that is characteristic of the great Hellenistic kingdoms. Ruler cult never took root in Macedonia, where divine honours would have been out of place in the social and political climate of the Macedonian court (cf. Polybius 5, 27, 6);[50] but in the course of the third century a centrally-organized worship with an official priesthood and varying organisation was introduced into the dominions of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, later into other realms—possibly Pergamum and certainly Commagene.[51] The initiative in these cases came from above with the ruler imposing the practice upon the subject as a duty. The motives of a monarch who created his own cult might vary from kingdom to kingdom: the desire to emphasize a link with the founder of a dynasty as a way of legitimizing one's claim to the throne, the need to provide a focus of loyalty to the central government, even simple conformity with what had become an established way of paying honour. But the basic aim was to sacralize the power he already possessed as a means of consolidating the basis of his own rule, to give it further prestige and justification. Whereas divine honours had earlier been granted in recognition of services rendered by an external liberator, now cult was paid to the king *qua* king, independently of his personal qualities; divinity, that is, became a characteristic of absolute monarchy.[52] As a result, by an inversion of thought a king's right to rule might come to rest on the fact that he was divine. This new development is reflected in contemporary literature, where the king, now a universal benefactor and saviour, is portrayed as god made man, one who participates in divinity and exercises on earth a divine kingship corresponding to that of the highest god in the universe.[53]

a) Ptolemaic Egypt

Hellenistic dynastic cult is seen at its most complex in Egypt, where our main source of evidence is the titles of the state priests who served what was essentially a family cult of the Ptolemies.[54] The first stage of development was the foundation by Ptolemy I Soter of a posthumous worship of Alexander, probably after 311 B.C. This was a state cult of the god Alexander which applied to the entire population of the Ptolemaic kingdom and was vested in an eponymous college of annual priests whose sacerdotal year was used as the basis for a system of dating, at least in Egypt.[55] Presumably a state cult of Alexander resulted from a desire on the part of Ptolemy to stress his (fictitious) relationship with Alexander,[56] perhaps also to enhance the importance of the city Alexander had founded as the headquarters of the cult and capital of the Ptolemaic kingdom. At all events there is nothing to show that he originally planned a true dynastic cult, a step left for his successor to take. When Ptolemy I died, his son Ptolemy II Philadelphus brought about his deification. The development is not entirely clear but it seems that *ca.* 280 B.C. the founder of the line was proclaimed Θεὸς Σωτήρ and the great festival of the Ptolemaieia instituted in his honour at Alexandria; the celebration included such *isotheoi timai* as sacrifices and a great gymnastic, musical and equestrian ἀγών, also a lavish πομπή.[57] Wilcken notes that whereas Alexander had had his own name (without θεός) made into that of a god, Ptolemy's name of 'saviour god' did not entirely mask his own humanity.[58] A few years later, following the marriage of Philadelphus and Arsinoe II, Berenice, the wife of Ptolemy Soter, was also deified upon her death and the two accorded a temple with statues and sacrifices; both Soter and Berenice were now paid cult as Θεοὶ Σωτῆρες though the festival continued to be called the Ptolemaieia. This cult, which was also valid for all members of the empire, marks the real beginning of a dynastic cult of the Ptolemies into which other members of the family might now be incorporated: for example, Philadelphus' daughter Philotera on her death at an early age.

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[50] Nock, "Synnaos" (above Intr. I; note 6) 61 (= *Essays* [above, Intr. I; note 4] 250); cf. Wilcken, "Entstehung" 7 (302), n. 3; Taeger, *Charisma* I, 353 f.; Cerfaux-Tondriau 123, 171 f., noting divine honours paid to Macedonian rulers by Greek states; cf. Habicht, *o.c.* 42 ff. R. M. Errington, "The Nature of the Macedonian State under the Monarchy", *Chiron* 8 (1978), 77-133 at 79 f. On the hereditary Macedonian monarchy see N. G. L. Hammond and G. T. Griffith, *A History of Macedonia*, Oxford, 1979, 2, 152-158.

[51] Taeger, *Charisma* 1,287-357: Walbank, *o.c.* (above, note 16) 213-218.

[52] Nilsson, *GGR*³2, 180.

[53] Wlosok, "Einführung" in *Kaiserkult* 13 f.

[54] Wilcken, "Entstehung" 13-22 (308-317); Nilsson, *GGR*³2, 154 ff.; Cerfaux-Tondriau 189 ff.; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 1, 214 ff.

The third and final stage was the deification of the living ruler and his wife, a step also achieved by Philadelphus. Both he and his sister-wife Arsinoe II were made Θεοὶ 'Αδελφοί with their own temple at Alexandria *ca.* 272/1, at any rate before her death in July 270, and the worship was placed in the hands of the priest of Alexander, who now called himself "Priest of Alexander and of the *Theoi Adelphoi*".[59] Surprisingly, perhaps, the *Theoi Soteres*, the deceased parents of Philadelphus, were not associated at this point with the dynastic cult of Alexander and the *Theoi Adelphoi*, and it has been suggested that this may be because Ptolemy I Soter had left instructions to that effect out of respect for Alexander.[60] Be that as it may, in doing for his father what Soter had done for Alexander, Ptolemy Philadelphus established what was essentially a Greek cult: the notion of elevating the dead to the level of the gods was taken from Greek practice and Theocritus in particular could conceive of Soter and Berenice as being carried off by the gods.[61] But in establishing his own worship a ruler who married his sister in Egyptian fashion may well have been influenced by native Egyptian practice. As Wilcken first stressed, so soon as Ptolemy, son of Lagos, took the title of king in 305, then he like Alexander before him naturally received from the Egyptians the divine honours due to Pharaoh, the son of Amun Re—a circumstance that holds true of all Ptolemies down to Cleopatra, also of later Roman emperors.[62] The religious environment was therefore already in place to facilitate the deification and cult of Philadelphus and his wife during their lifetime.[63] All that remained was for later Ptolemies and their wives to be assimilated into the existing cult, a process that can be traced through all its vicissitudes in the steadily expanding titulature of the original priest of Alexander.[64] The most significant of subsequent monarchs[65] is perhaps Ptolemy IV Philopator, who introduced several important changes. In 215/4 he at last incorporated his great-grand-father Ptolemy Soter with Berenice, both of whom now appear as *Theoi Soteres* in their proper place in the protocol of the eponymous priest; it was also Philopator who introduced a collective σῆμα of Alexander and earlier Ptolemies in the middle of Alexandria and instituted the cult of his own mother Berenice II.[66]

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[55] The state cult, which probably centred on the Sema of Alexander, must be distinguished from the civic cult of Alexander as *ktistes*, the central shrine of which may have stood in the market-place; cf. Fraser *o.c.* 225, n. 285.

[56] Fraser, *o. c.* 1, 45.

[57] Nilsson, *GGR*³2, 159: Fraser, *o.c.* 202.

[58] "Entstehung" 16 (311), cf. 14 (309).

[59] The Theoi Adelphoi and their successors were thus incorporated in the cult of Alexander at Alexandria, also generally in the temples of Egypt, so it seems; Nock, "Synnaos" (above, Intr. I; note 6) 4 ff., cf. 42 (= *Essays* [above, Intr. I; note 4] 204 ff., cf. 235 f.)

[60] Fraser, *o.c.* 1, 218 with n. 230.

b) Seleucid Syria

Other monarchies followed suit. Why this should be so is not always apparent, though, if ruler cult was an established practice, it is clear that considerations of prestige alone would require a ruler to install a cult whatever his personal wishes.[67] In the realm of the Seleucids, the largest kingdom of the Hellenistic world, the development of the dynastic cult was necessarily very different from that in Egypt.[68] For one thing, Ptolemaic Egypt was a highly organized land of a single people whereas the Seleucid empire was essentially a heterogenous amalgamation of satrapies loosely unified in the person of the king. A further difference is that, in contrast to the two new foundations of Alexandria and Ptolemais in Egypt, numerous Macedonian-Greek cities were established, particularly by the first two Seleucids, in a kingdom that already included a great many ancient Greek city-states in Asia Minor. In consequence, the ruler cult we know of is mostly civic and corresponds closely to that of the Diadochi period in outlook and purpose;[69] as such, it must be clearly distinguished from the official worship of the Seleucid dynasty.

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[61] Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 158, citing Theocritus 17, 13 ff. See A. S. F. Gow's commentary, *Theocritus*, Cambridge, 1950, 2, 328 ff. See further "Divinity and worship", below p. 41, cf. 18.

[62] *O.c.* 13 (308). On the significance of the King's Daimon see R. Beare, "Ptolemy's Daimon and Ruler-Cult", *Klio* 62 (1980), 327-330.

[63] Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 181; Fraser, *o.c.* 218.

[64] Note the separate priesthood of Arsinoe Philadelphus instituted after her death by Ptolemy Philadelphus and served by a κανηφόρος; Fraser, *o.c.* 217.

[65] Ptolemy III Euergetes was the first monarch to receive the radiate crown in his lifetime. It was later given to Antiochus VI of Syria and to Nero, also posthumously to deified Roman emperors. See A. D. Nock, "Studies in the Graeco-Roman Beliefs of the Empire", *JHS* 45 (1925), 94, n. 84 (= *Essays* [above, Intr. I; note 4] 44, n. 84); further "*Vae Puto Deus Fio*", below, Vol. I, 2, p. 296.

[66] Fraser, *o.c.* 219 f., 225. Temple reliefs suggest that the emphasis was overwhelmingly on the cult of deceased Ptolemaic rulers rather than the living: E. Winter, "Der Herrscherkult in den Ägyptischen Ptolemäertempeln," in H. Maehler and V. M. Strocka (edd.), *Das ptolemäische Ägypten* (Akten des internationalen Symposions 27-29 September 1976 in Berlin), Mainz, 1978, 147-160.

Our knowledge of the state cult of the Seleucids is confined to a remarkable edict issued by Antiochus III in 194/3 and sent to Anaximbrotus, the satrap of Caria; three epigraphical examples are known today thanks to Antiochus' instructions that the edict should be inscribed in stone and set in prominent places.[70] What the text reveals is that just as Antiochus has high priests (ἀρχιερεῖς) nominated by himself for his own cult in the satrapies, so he now wishes to appoint high priestesses for Queen Laodice (ἀρχιέρειαι): the queen's priestess is to have a special crown and, as part of the dating-system, her name is to be inscribed in documents after that of the high priest of the king's ancestors and the king himself. It follows, then, that the Seleucid kingdom has an official dynastic cult which is valid for the whole kingdom but decentralized to the extent that each province has its own headquarters under a high priest. This organization is very different from the casual, sporadic ruler cult of the individual cities; the two existed side by side and the state cult of the royal pair contrasts sharply with the civic cults of Antiochus and Laodice that were founded spontaneously, for example at Teos and Iasos.[71] Official ruler cult in the satrapies thus appears as a notable step towards systematization in a vast kingdom and an attempt to provide a central focus in the person of the ruler. How far it achieved its purpose we do not know; if success was minimal, that would emphasize the difficulties of managing the sprawling Seleucid empire. In any event there is a clear correspondence in many ways with the cult of the emperor in the provinces of the Roman empire.

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[67] Fraser, *o.c.*, 218.

[68] E. Bikerman, *Institutions des Séleucides*, Paris, 1938, 236-257; Wilcken, "Entstehung" 22-26 (317-321); Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 165-171; Cerfaux-Tondriau 229-246; Taeger, *Charisma*, 1, 308-326.

[69] Habicht, *Gottmenschentum* 82-108.

[70] *OGIS* 224 (= C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*, New Haven, 1934, no. 36, cf. 37). See L. Robert, *Hellenica VII*, Paris, 1949, 7-9; *id.*, *CRAI*, 1967, 281-96; further Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 168 n. 7 with refs.

[71] P. Hermann, "Antiochus der Grosse und Teos", *Anadolu* 9 (1965), 29-159; F. Sokolowski, "Divine Honors for Antiochus and Laodike at Teos and Iasos", *GRBS* 13 (1972), 171-176. New evidence from here supercedes Bikermann's analysis (above, note 68) 247. See further Addenda, p. 186.

Who created the Seleucid imperial cult with its hierarchy of crown-appointed priests remains very uncertain. It has sometimes been assumed that Antiochus III was himself responsible, but, as Wilcken observed, the eponymous priesthood shows that the cult of the king's ancestors and of the reigning monarch must already have been in existence; otherwise the Seleucid empire would have had no official cult of the ruler to match that of the Ptolemies for the whole of the third century.[72] Rivalry between the Hellenistic kingdoms makes it easier to suppose that the cult rather began with one of the first Seleucids and that it was then taken over by his successors, with earlier rulers included in the cult as προγόνοι.[73] If so, the founder can hardly have been Seleucus I, who like Ptolemy I Soter had fought with Alexander and sought not divine honours for himself but to show old-style Greek piety towards Zeus, Athene or Apollo of Didyma. Perhaps then one should think of the contemporary of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, Antiochus I, who is known to have established a local cult of his dead father at Seleuceia, where he dedicated a temple and precinct by his grave (later called Nikatoreion). Such a reconstruction, while not objectively demonstrable, would give a date for the beginning of the dynastic cult of the Seleucids in the second generation of rulers, exactly as in Ptolemaic Egypt.[74] In that case Antiochus III will have made significant modifications to an existing cult much as Ptolemy IV Philopator had done some twenty years earlier. It was left for his immediate successor Antiochus IV to go one stage further in assuming the title θεὸς ἐπιφανής, apparently as part of his attempt to legitimize and gain recognition for his regime.[75] The step was too much for the taste of his contemporaries, who sarcastically called him ἐπιμανής (Polyius 26, 1^{a}), but thereafter the title became a conventional epithet of the Seleucid monarchy.[76]

c) Other Kingdoms

Little, if anything, is known directly of the state cult of the Attalids, the Hellenistic dynasty closest to the Greek world in outlook.[77] Such evidence as we possess is almost entirely that of the cult offered by city-states inhabited by Greeks and shows the full range of divine honours offered to living monarchs, particularly queens; it is noticeable, however, that rulers are deified and called θεοί only after death, when they returned to heaven by a μετάστασις.[78] That the civic cults resemble those of the Diadochi period is undoubtedly due to the nature of the Attalid kingdom itself. On the other hand it is clear that local cults were often financed by the monarch, and the general impression of uniformity, despite their great numbers, could suggest official inspiration. How far they might reflect the character of a state cult is difficult to assess. Kornemann suggested that such guilds as the Attalistai, apparently known under the preceding reign of Eumenes II as Eumenistai, were connected with a state, dynastic worship and drew tentative conclusions regarding its nature, in particular that kings were deified only *post mortem* and after the death of Eumenes II.[79] But in general an outline does not emerge with anything like the clarity of that of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid dynastic cults.[80]

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[72] Wilcken, "Entstehung" 25 f. (302 f.).

[73] But see M. Rostovtzeff, "ΠΡΟΓΟΝΟΙ", *JHS* 55 (1935), 56-66 at 65 f., suggesting that it was Seleucus who founded the cult of his *progonoi.*

[74] Kornemann, "Herrscherkulte" 80.

[75] J. G. Bunge, "Münzen als Mittel politischer Propaganda. Antiochus IV Epiphanes von Syrien", *Stud. Class.* 16 (1974), 43-52; *id.*, " 'Antiochus-Helios'. Methoden und Ergebnisse der Reichspolitik Antiochus' IV Epiphanes von Syrien im Spiegel seiner Münzen", *Historia* 24 (1975), 164-188.

[76] The title was first adopted by Ptolemy V: A. D. Nock, "Notes on Ruler Cult, I-IV", *JHS* 48 (1928), 21-43 at 38-41 (= *Essays* [above, Intr. I; note 4] 152-156).

[77] Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 171-174; *id.*, *Die Hellenistische Schule*, Munich, 1955, 71 f.; Cerfaux-Tondriau 247-254; Taeger, *Charisma* 1,338-352; Habicht, *Gottmenschentum* 124-126.

The state cult of Commagene, in contrast, is better known to us than that of any other Hellenistic kingdom.[81] For this we are indebted above all to the great inscription[82] that Antiochus I set up on the summit of Nemrud Dağ, where it forms part of a gigantic monument intended by Antiochus as a witness of his piety to all the gods and the "heroic band" of his ancestors.[83] Coming from the ruler of a petty kingdom, all this would be laughable if it did not yield precious evidence for the final development of Hellenistic ruler cult, here characterized by the syncretism of Greek and Persian elements.[84] Antiochus, who traces his origins on his father's side to the Achaemenid and on his mother's side to the Seleucid dynasty, calls himself the great king Antiochus, *theos*, *dikaios*, *epiphanes*, *Philoromaios* and *Philhellene*, and in his divine pretensions elevates himself to the level of the highest gods. His body, he says, will repose in the tomb (ἱεροθέσιον), while his soul flies up to the throne of Zeus Oromasdes; in keeping with this he has set up in stone a copy of his own form "enthroned with the gods who answer prayer": that is Zeus Oromasdes, Apollo — Mithras — Helios — Hermes, Artagnes — Heracles — Ares, and all-nurturing Commagene (11. 53 ff.). In making himself σύνθρονος (evidently a higher level of communion than that implied by σύνναος)[85] Antiochus is putting himself on equal terms with these syncretic deities—as he believes, at their direction. This intention is confirmed by a row of five statues of seated gods that include Antiochus himself, also by four associated δεξίωσις reliefs showing him shaking hands with the same four gods, whose throne-companion he is; since Antiochus is represented as of the same size as these, he is clearly their equal. The tone of all this goes well beyond the normal ruler cult of the period, but in other respects Antiochus legislates on more traditional Hellenistic lines. The νόμος he has inscribed provides for a priest[86] of the state cult, here decentralized on the Seleucid model, and for specific rites and lavish celebrations on his birthday and the anniversary of his accession; as well, there is permanent financial provision for the cult and for its personnel, including musicians who shall be bound to their calling by heredity.

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[78] E. V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon*^{2}, Ithaca and London, 1971, 453-470. See now R. E. Allen, *The Attalid Kingdom: A Constitutional History*, Oxford, 1983, 145-158.

[79] "Herrscherkulte" 85-90; cf. Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 171 f.; Cerfaux-Tondriau 252 with refs.; Hansen, *Attalids* (above, note 78) 462-464. Walbank, *o.c.* (above, note 16) 216, notes that we have no firm evidence for an official dynastic cult.

[80] For the ruler cult in other kingdoms of Asia Minor see Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 176 f.; Cerfaux-Tondriau 255-262; Taeger, *Charisma* 1,326-338.

[81] Kornemann, "Herrscherkulte" 90-93; Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 170 f.; Cerfaux-Tondriau 254 f.; Taeger, *Charisma* I, 427-433; H. Dörrie, *Der Königskult des Antiochos von Kommagene im Lichte neuer Inschriften-Funde* (Abhand. Akad. Wiss. Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl. 60), Göttingen, 1964; H. Waldmann, *Die kommagenischen Kult-reformen unter König Mithradates I Kallinikos und seinem Sohne Antiochus*, Leiden, 1973, 1; F. K. Dörner, *Kommagene. Götterthrone und Königsgräber am Euphrat*, Bergisch Gladbach, 1981, 220 ff.

[82] For associated inscriptions see Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 170, n. 4 with refs.; P. M. Fraser, "Inscriptions from Commagene', *ABSA* 47 (1952), 96-101; Haase, "Voraussetzungen" (above, Intr. II; note 49) 1, nn. 2, 6 with bibl.

[83] *OGIS* 383 = *IGRR* 3, 999 = L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (*IGLS*) *I, Commagène et Cyrrhestique*, Paris, 1929, no. 1.

[84] Nock, "Synnaos" (above, Intr. I; note 6) 27 (=*Essays* [above, Intr. I; note 4] 223), noting that the names of the deities are largely Persian, as is the ceremonial dress of the priests and the practice of offering sacrifice on a hill-top accompanied by a banquet.

In political terms the foundation of a state cult of Commagene can be seen as an internal reaction to the external threat of Roman expansion:[87] Antiochus attempts to weld his kingdom together and to guarantee his own position by instituting a cult of himself as a god in the circle of the highest gods. Of interest in this connection is that the horoscope carved on the great lion relief from the west terrace of Nemrud Dağ shows a constellation of stars and planets which can be calculated to have coincided most probably on 7th July, 62 B.C.: that is, about the time a new order was created by Pompey's arrangements. But the memorial of Antiochus is of greatest significance for its place in the development of Hellenistic ruler cult. What we are given is not merely information on cult institutions but also the theoretical basis on which these stand. Many of the expressions that are typical of official and private utterances on divine monarchy in the early Hellenistic period are repeated or echoed at Nemrud Dağ and one has the strong impression that Antiochus is out to draw the last consequences from tendencies implicit in the ruler cult from its beginning.[88] Above all, the horoscope has led W. Haase to conclude that Antiochus believed he had witnessed his καταστερισμός on 7th July, 62 B.C., his own reception among the stars. What Haase suggests, in other words, is that the horoscope shows as cosmic reality what is portrayed in a different way in the statue groups or the *dexiosis* reliefs. If so, Antiochus goes further than Demetrius Polyorcetes, for whom the astral character of his epiphany in the hymn of the Athenians was never more than a comparison or a symbol, as expressed in the star-spangled cloak he sometimes wore. Now Antiochus is literally a manifest god among the great gods, just as he is literally *dikaios* in the way he treats the gods (including himself). The astral epiphany of the king of Commagene thus marks the culmination of Hellenistic notions of the god-ruler. It was an idea which would be taken over literally in the case of Caesar's ascent to the stars and more lastingly in the later symbolism of Roman imperial ideology.

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[85] The word is first used by Diodorus (16, 92, 5; 95, 1), who says that Philip showed himself "enthroned with" the Twelve Gods in the famous *pompê* that marked his daughter's wedding in 336 B.C. For discussion see Taeger, *Charisma* 1, 175 f.; Fredricksmeyer, "Divine Honors" (above, note 12) 56 f.; cf. Nock, "Synnaos" 57, n. 1.

[86] R. D. Sullivan, "Priesthoods of the Eastern Dynastic Aristocracy" in Sencer Şahin, Elmar Schwertheim, Jörg Wagner (edd.), *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens* (Festschrift F. K. Dörner), Leiden, 1978, 914-939 at 916 with bibl.

[87] A. Mannzman, "Herrschaft unter dem Aspect Königlicher Machtpolitik" in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens* (above, note 86) 565-594 at 584-592; R. D. Sullivan, "The Dynasty of Commagene", *ANRW* 2, 8 (1977) 732-798 at 763-770.

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[88] Haase, "Voraussetzungen" 3, noting parallels with the *Ithyphallikos* sung to Demetrius Polyorcetes: above, notes 4, 49. For the horoscope see further Mannzman (above, note 87) 587 f.

III. ISOTHEOI TIMAI

Cult paid to heroes had in some ways been similar to the cult of gods. When such a cult was offered to a living man, the honours he received—whether freely bestowed by a city or imposed from above in dynastic cults—were parallel in form and circumstance to the divine honours associated with the worship of the gods: sacrifices, altars, images, temples, priests, processions, festivals, games, epithets, anniversaries.[1] An instructive paradigm for this whole nexus is the wide range of honours conferred by Athens on Antigonus and Demetrius, though the Athenians went beyond the norm in addressing their deliverers as 'saving gods' and including an actual denigration of the Olympians in their hymn of welcome.[2] What exactly the cult of a living individual involved is best expressed in the Greek term fundamental to the proper understanding of ancient ruler worship: ἰσόθεοι τιμαί—honours equal to those paid the gods. But the idea also underlies the formulae found in inscriptions or used by authors of the late Classical and Hellenistic periods: ὡς θεὸν τιμᾶν, ὥσπερ θεῷ θυεῖν, θεὸν ἀναγορεύειν, νομίζειν. Significantly, the same phraseology recurs in the *lex sacra* of Antiochus I of Commagene, who says he has instituted a state cult εἴς τε θεῶν σεβασμὸν καὶ ἡμετέρας τιμάς (1.79 f.); cf. εἰς τιμὰς θεῶν τε καὶ ἡμετέρας (11. 144 f.).[3] The tendency to offer τιμή to individuals considered superior was ingrained in the Greek mind and it is of interest to note that the word used here is exactly the same as that appropriate for secular honours. The full implications of this will become clear later; for the moment it may be noted that the Greeks had no word for 'cult'.

The first essential of divine honours[4] was an offering, which could take the form of a sacrificial victim, incense or libations.[5] Sacrifices might be voted for a specific occasion or by permanent endowment at appointed times—annually, monthly or more frequently—and were performed on an altar, which thus served as a focal point for the cult. The standard centre was an altar situated in the *agora* such as that which Ilium erected for Seleucus I (*OGIS* 212, 1.5).

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[1] Burkert, *Griechische Religion* (above, Intr. I; note 4) 142 ff.

[2] See "Hellenistic Ruler Cult", above, p. 12 with note 49. For a more normal picture see, for example, the Samothracian inscription recording honours to Lysimachus of Thrace during his lifetime; Habicht, *Gottmenschentum* 39 f.

[3] Above, Intr. II; note 83.

[4] For the various cult forms see Habicht, *Gottmenschentum* 138-159; further Addenda, p. 186.

[5] Epigraphical evidence for sacrifice to living Hellenistic monarchs is compiled by Price, "Sacrifice" (above, Intr. II; note 10) 37 f. with refs and bibl. See now F. T. van Straten, "Gifts for the Gods" in H. S. Versnel (ed.), *Faith, Hope and Worship. Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World* (Studies in Greek and Roman Religion 2), Leiden, 1981, 65-151 at 83 ff.; further "Divinity and Worship", below, pp. 35-37.

Like the gods, individuals linked in a common cult could have a common altar and in later times it was even possible for a ruler to share an altar with a deity, though this sort of arrangement appears to have been exceptional: Attalus III, for example, is known to have shared in sacrifices made at Pergamum (?) on the altars of Zeus Soter, Hestia Boulaia and Zeus Boulaios (*OGIS* 332).[6] Reference to only an altar in the sources usually indicates that this was the sole monument of a cult but in other instances we have firm evidence for the existence of a temple. Within this or in front of it stood an altar at which was celebrated the cult of the deity dwelling in the temple, the whole complex lying within a sacred precinct. Such a τέμενος, which might be outside or inside the city, usually bore the personal name (exceptionally the cult name) of the individual, but, whereas altars could be erected independently of temples and multiplied within the same city, there was initially only one temple: Athens, for instance, dedicated one ἱερόν of Demetrius in 304 but altars at several places (Clem. Alex., *Protrepticus* 4, 54, 6). Presumably it was the cost of temples that explains why these are attested much less frequently than altars or precincts in the ruler cults of individual city-states and why the gymnasium often appears here as the centre of worship; besides, the cult of some individual might not last very long. In the dynastic cults of the Hellenistic world, above all in the Roman imperial cult, temples are more frequent and the title of temple warden (νεωκόρος) was a prized distinction in the provincial cults of the eastern Roman empire, especially in Asia Minor.[7]

Within the temple will have stood the image designed to receive cultus, though if no temple was available this could be found elsewhere; for example Alexander's image lay in the gymnasium at Bargylia, where it was renewed at the beginning of the third century A.D. (*OGIS* 3). One development of particular interest in this connection is that whereby the cult image of the ruler is placed within an existing temple or a newly created joint temple, much as a hero might have had a place in the precinct of a deity. By this procedure a ruler or monarch was made σύνναος with the deity of the temple, in whose honours he usually then shared. Nock has collected known examples of the practice and concluded that, outside of Ptolemaic Egypt, temple sharing was a limited phenomenon even if one includes posthumous examples.[8] A good example that has recently come to light is provided in the great inscription from Teos recording that marble cult images of Antiochus III and Queen Laodice shall be placed beside that of Dionysus, thus making them σύνναοι within the temple of Dionysus.[9] The most extreme case is that of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who was made literally σύνναος when the Athenians allowed him to lodge in the Parthenon in 304/3 (Plut. *Demetr.* 12); he may also have dwelt in the temple of Apollo on Delos. In any event the cult image (normally ἄγαλμα) must be clearly distinguished from an honorific representation (εἰκών, ἀνδριάς) which could stand anywhere and did not of itself imply cult, though it might be the object of a special cult.[10] For example Attalus III had at Pergamum an *agalma* in the temple of Asclepius, whereby he became σύνναος, but an *eikon* in the marketplace conspicuously placed beside the altar of Zeus Soter.[11] This distinction holds true even if such a statue be placed within a temple as a votive offering to the deity, such as the statue of Ptolemy I in the temple of Apollo at Miletus or the *eikon* of Philip II in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus.[12] Similar instances are common enough and the placing of an honorific statue might pave the way for an eventual cult image. Nevertheless the fact that the strict distinction in terminology can break down in the sources[13] does suggest that the difference between *agalma* on the one hand and *eikon* or *andrias* on the other was not always as clearly appreciated as the terminology tends to imply.[14]

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[6] See Nock, "Synnaos" (above, Intr. I; note 6) 22 f. (= *Essays* [above, Intr. I; note 4] 219 f.; Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 174; Cerfaux-Tondriau 250; Versnel, "Heersercultus" (above, Intr. I; note 7) 148.

[7] R. Mellor, ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ *The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World* (Hypomnemata 42), Göttingen, 1975, 81 f. with bibl., cf. 189 f.; Ch. Habicht, "Die augusteische Zeit und das erste Jahrhundert nach Christi Geburt" in den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte* 64; R. Merkelbach, "Der Rangstreit der Städte Asiens und die Rede des Aelius Aristides über die Eintracht", *ZPE* 32 (1978), 287-296; H. von Hesberg, "Archäologische Denkmäler zum römischen Kaiserkult", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 957, 961. See further Addenda, p. 186.

[8] "Synnaos" 39, 42 f. (=*Essays*, 233, 235 f).

The person charged with performing the rites would naturally be the priest of the cult wherever such was available; this seems to have been the case in cities where there was a temple to require his care and services. Priesthoods of Alexander the Great are attested at numerous centres—that at Ephesus was still active in the time of Trajan (*SEG* 4, 521)[15]—and, when a priest tended the cult of the *ktistes*, he would usually be eponymous. Yet the foundation of a special office seems not to have been an essential requirement, not at least in the casual worship paid by individual cities to individual rulers. Such was the religious climate of the Greek world that rites might be performed by civil magistrates or by the priests of other gods, local practice differing from place to place or even at the same place. It was a different matter with the dynastic worship of Hellenistic kings, when the cult was put in the hands of a priesthood specifically created for the purpose. In Ptolemaic Egypt, where appointment was made by the crown, the priestly titles attest an annual, eponymous college and show the evolution of the central priesthood to which were added the separate ministries of priestesses charged with the particular cults of individual consorts.[16] The priesthood at Alexandria was a position of great dignity and prosopographical studies have revealed how incumbents were drawn from leading families, who filled high positions in the administration. Similarly, in the Seleucid empire, whereas an annual local priest or priests saw to the municipal worship of the living monarch, his predecessors, the queen or the crown-prince, in the satrapies the king himself appointed—probably for life—a hierarchy of provincial priests; these served a composite cult of the king and his ancestors[17] in which was also associated the queen with her own priestess. The cult was centrally organized and relatives of the king might be appointed to the high priesthoods, which again were offices of great prestige. Many features of these institutions, which occur also in Commagene,[18] were to be reproduced in the municipal and provincial priesthoods of the Roman imperial worship.

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[9] Hermann, "Antiochus" (above, Intr. II; note 71); cf. *Bull. Epig.* (1969) no. 495.

[10] Nock, "Synnaos" 3, n. 2, 52-54 (=*Essays* 204, n. 5, 242-244); K. Tuchelt, *Frühe Denkmäler Roms in Kleinasien 1: Roma und Promagistrate* (*MDAI[I]* Beiheft 23), Tübingen, 1979, 68-70. For the corresponding distinction he draws between the use of marble (*agalma*) and bronze (eikon) see *ibid.*, 70-90. In the imperial period silver *eikones* are certainly attested at Ephesus: J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerousia* (Hesperia Suppl. 6), Baltimore, 1941, p. 55, no. 3; also at Termessos, for example (*IGRR* 3, 424). Conversely the *agalma* of Lysimachus at Priene was of bronze (*OGIS* 11, 1.15). See further Addenda p. 186.

[11] Above, note 6.

[12] Habicht, "Gottmenschentum" 114 f., 245.

[13] Nock, *l.c.*, above, note 10; *id.*, "The Vocabulary of the New Testament", *JBL* 52 (1933), 131-9 at 138 (=*Essays* 346).

[14] Versnel, "Heersercultus" 149. For *agalma* in the sense of a votive offering see van Straten (above, note 5) 75.

[15] For similar survivals see, for example, *I Erythrai* 64; Le Bas-Waddington 496 (Bargylia).

No cult would be complete without a festival celebrated at the sanctuary (or wherever else served as the cult centre) in honour of the ruler whose name the event bore—Alexandreia, Demetrieia, Antigoneia and the like.[19] As in the Greek festivals of the gods, which provided the original model, there would be musical, dramatic and athletic competitions and the proceedings would open with a procession, followed by sacrifice and occasionally hymns.[20] How lavish such a *pompê* might be is shown by Callixeinus' description of the *pompê* attached to the festival of the Ptolemaieia—probably on its third celebration in 270.[21] Festivals appear to have been well attended with contestants from near and far and delegates to represent, for example, the member-states of a league. Similarly ἀρχιθέωροι and θεωροί, the original term for envoys to a god,[22] journeyed from various parts of the Ptolemaic empire and beyond to Alexandria, where the Ptolemaieia was recognized as 'isolympic' and games held every five years to coincide with the Olympic games.[23] A decree from Ilium likewise mentions a penteteric festival with games in honour of Seleucus I (*OGIS* 212, 1.10) but more usually an annual celebration was the rule, the date falling on the birthday of the individual honoured or, possibly, the anniversary of the event which the festival commemorated. The precise time would naturally be predetermined if the festival were combined with the high feast of the state—the Dionysia *par excellence* or perhaps the festival of Athene—and there can be no doubt that this sort of association afforded a very practical way of keeping down the expenses of a cult. Under such circumstances the name of a ruler would simply be tacked on (usually after) that of the festival.[24] This seems to be the best explanation of Duris' report, quoted by Plutarch (*Lys.* 18, 4), that the Samians voted to call their Heraia Lysandreia. A festival of that standing can hardly have been transferred from the great goddess of Samos to a mortal, even if Lysander was the first of the Greeks to whom (posthumously?) cities raised altars and made sacrifices as to a god (above, p. 7).[25]

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[16] Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 1 (above, Intr. I; note 14) 214-226 with refs. The priests of the Ptolemaic dynastic cult were the subject of a book written by Charon of Naucratis.

[17] So Wilcken, "Entstehung" (above Intr. II; note 18) 24 [319], n. 5, who takes the high priest to have served both the living and the dead together. Bikerman, *Institutions* (above, Intr. II; note 68) 247 f., follows Kornemann, "Herscherkulte" 83 in separating the cults of the living and of the dead emperors. For the duration of the priesthood see Wilcken, *o.c.*, 26 [321] (annual or periodic); L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7, Paris, 1949, 11 f. (permanent; following Bikerman and Welles).

[18] Cf. the special privileges of the state priesthood instituted by Antiochus I: above, Intr. II; note 83 (11. 124 ff.).

[19] Weinstock, *DJ* 265. Note the title "Euangelia" applied to the sacrifices offered in Scepsis to Antigonus the One-Eyed: Habicht, *Gottmenschentum* 42 f.; Taeger, *Charisma* 1, 261 f. The prototype of a festival in honour of a ruler was the Indian "triumph" of Alexander: Weinstock, *DJ* 289, n. 6 with refs. For the Arsinoeia celebrated at Alexandria and elsewhere in Egypt see D. B. Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience*, Oxford, 1973, 71-75, 117.

[20] Cf. Bömer in *RE* 21, 2 (1952) 1887 s.v. *pompa*; further Mellor, ΡΩΜΗ (above, Intr. III; note 7) 165-180. Hymns will outdoubtedly have been played by the musicians established by Antiochus of Commagene: "Hellenistic Ruler Cult", above, p. 19.

A similar, less lavish, form of divine honours was the application of the name of a living individual to new or existing tribes: for example Alexandris at Ilium, Demetrias and Antigonis at Athens, above all φυλαί named after Hellenistic monarchs—Seleukis, Ptolemais, Eumenis, etc.[26] Strictly speaking, this was in accord with the old custom whereby rulers who gave tribes their names—and were therefore in a sense responsible for their existence—should be considered heroes and paid hero-cult; though whether this was realized, say, in Hellenistic Athens may be doubted.[27] In any event, the new eponymous ἀρχηγός was then paid cult not just by the tribe but by the city as a whole, as is clear from some of the honours paid the Antigonids at Athens in 307.[28]

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[21] Above, Intr. II; note 57.

[22] The term had been used for ambassadors to Alexander (above, Intr. II): Arrian, *Anab.* 7, 23, 2; also for envoys sent by the Athenians to Antigonus and Demetrius: Plut. *Demetr.* 11, 1.

[23] Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 1, 230 f.

[24] For a parallel in the Roman imperial cult see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6, Paris, 1948, 43-48.

[25] Nock, "Synnaos" (above, Intr. I; note 6) 60 f (=*Essays* 248 f.); Nisson, *GGR*³2, 140. But see Habicht, *Gottmenschentum* 243 f., citing a fragmentary inscription from the Samian Heraion in which the Lysander festival is apparently attested without reference to the Heraia—not that this need prove the goddess was displaced; further Badian, "Deification" 33 f.

[26] Habicht, *Gottmenschentum* 153 f.; Weinstock, *DJ* 159.

[27] Nilsson, *Gnomon* 29 (1957), 212.

[28] Habicht, *o.c.* 44 f.

Months also could be named after a ruler, Demetrion at Athens (Plut. *Demetr.* 12, 2) or Seleukeios at Ilium (*OGIS* 212, 11) and the cult festival of a ruler would be held in his own month.[29] Consciously or not, the practice was again in line with the ancient custom whereby the name of a month was connected with a festival celebrated in honour of a god rather than with the god directly. Lastly a ruler's name might be given to a day.[30] We have one example at Athens, where the last day apparently of every month was called Demetrias (Plut. *ibid.*), but in the Hellenistic kingdom it seems to have been common practice to celebrate each month the special occasions of the royal family, particularly the king's birthday, the day of his accession, and the queen's birthday;[31] detailed instructions along these lines are contained in the *nomos* of Antiochus I of Commagene.[32] Such days were then denoted by the name of the ruler in question or called "king's days".[33] Nilsson observes that the festival of a ruler's accession compares closely with that of the παρουσία or εἰσιτήρια in the cult of the gods.[34]

Of central significance within the present context is the application of epithets or cult names to individual rulers. In a Greek city-state it was by no means essential for the recipient of cult to have a cult title. In many cases this is entirely lacking and, even where found, the usage is not regular since the epithet was not a settled part of the ruler's name. Not surprisingly, therefore, the same ruler can have different epithets in different communities. The reason is evidently that a cult title was in many cases not so much a real name as an explanation of the circumstances under which the cult arose; that is, the epithet is derived from an original verbal expression explaining *why* an individual was given a particular title. Thus at Ilium the inscription beneath the statue for Antiochus I states that he had been a benefactor and saviour of the people (*OGIS* 219, 11.36 ff.). To put it another way a man—like a god[35]—was paid cult for what he had done, not for who or what he was; though naturally the former would flow from the latter. It was a different matter with the bynames of Hellenistic kings, which were given or assumed officially and were independent of whatever names might be bestowed by one city or another. These official epithets were applicable throughout the empire and often recur with a monotony that precludes any particular significance.[36]

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[29] K. Scott, "Greek and Roman honorific months", *YCS* 2 (1931), 199-278.

[30] Habicht, *o.c.* 155 f.

[31] P. Herz, *Untersuchungen zum Festkalender der römischen Kaiserzeit nach datierten Weih- und Ehreninschriften*, Mainz, 1975, 42 f., noting the connection with the Roman imperial *dies natalis* and *dies imperii*; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste der Prinzipatszeit", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1135-1200 at 1143-1145; cf. E. Kornemann, "Ἄναξ καινὸς Ἀδριανός", *Klio* 7 (1907), 278-288 at 285, no. 1.

[32] Above, Intr. II; note 83.

[33] F. Blumenthal, "Der ägyptische Kaiserkult", *APF* 5 (1913), 317-345 at 337. For the continuation of the practice in the Roman period see W. F. Snyder, "Ἡμέραι Σεβασταί", *Aegyptus* 18 (1938), 197-233; *id.*, "Progress Report on the Ἡμέραι Σεβασταί", *o.c.* 44 (1964) 145-169. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 1, 232, notes that the birthday of Ptolemy Philadelphus counted as the anniversary of his accession.

[34] *GGR*^{3}2, 184, cf. 391 f.

[35] A. D. Nock, "Studies in the Graeco-Roman Beliefs of the Empire", *JHS* 45 (1925), 84-101 at 85-88 (= *Essays* 34-37).

If we leave aside names that express purely family relationships—Philadelphus, Philopater, Philometor[37]—and very specialized titles such as "καταιβάτης" given to Demetrius Polyorcetes, who received an altar and sacrifices at the place where he dismounted from his chariot on arrival at Athens in 304 B.C.,[38] four epithets are particularly relevant to the present theme.[39] The first of these, εὐεργέτης, is essentially a complimentary, secular title that expresses simple gratitude without any implication of deity, though it apparently came to have a religious tinge;[40] from time to time one also finds it bestowed on a god, the ancients having no inhibitions about complimenting a god who had benefitted them.[41] In the original application of the word a man was called 'benefactor' in virtue of his good works, which would then be set out in the decree by which a state regulated his cult honours: a good example is that of Samothrace conferring the title on Lysimachus (Dittenberger, *Syll.* 372). When used of Hellenistic monarchs such as the successor of Ptolemy Philadelphus,[42] the term refers to the temporal benefactions they have conferred. More dramatic is σωτήρ, an epithet regularly linked with *euergetes.*[43] The word originally applied both to gods and to men and continued to be so used without any blurring of the distinction between the two; when accorded to a mortal, it can denote cult in the proper context, though elsewhere it appears as a purely civil epithet.[44] Like *euergetes*, *soter* was not originally a permanent part of a ruler's name but was used predicatively to show that a man was paid cult in return for concrete benefits to a community. But from an expression of gratitude for services rendered it could develop into a permanent usage as in the case of Ptolemy I Soter, who was originally given the title of "saviour" in return for saving the Rhodians from Demetrius (Paus. 1, 8, 6). Ultimately the term could refer to benefits conferred on a larger unit than a city-state: the province of Asia, for example, or even the world.

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[36] For statistics see C. Schneider, *Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus*, Munich, 1969, 2, 895.

[37] Nock, "Notes" (above, Intr. II; note 76) 39 (=*Essays* 154).

[38] Habicht, *Gottmenschentum* 48 f., 156, n. 74 with refs; cf. Weinstock, *DJ* 289, n. 8. for ἐπιβατήριος applied to Caesar and others see Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 184; L. Robert "Nouvelles inscriptions d'Iasos", *REA* 65 (1963), 314 f. (= *id.*, *Opera Minora Selecta* 3, Amsterdam, 1969, 1509 f.); *Bull. Epig.* (1969) no. 501.

[39] See in general W. Schubart "Das Königsbild des Hellenismus", *Die Antike* 13 (1937), 285 f.; Hermann, "Antiochus" 146 ff.; Mellor, ΡΩΜΗ (above, note 7) 111-115.

[40] Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 183; Habicht, *Gottmenschentum* 211, n. 65; further below, note 43.

[41] For *euergetes* (and *soter*) as epithets of the gods see L. Robert, *Le Sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa, I, Les Inscriptions grecques*, (Mémoires de l'Inst. français d'Arch. de Stamboul 7) Paris, 1945, 23.

[42] Nock, above, note 37.

[43] Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 390, n. 4 with bibl.; A. D. Nock, "*Soter* and *Euergetes*" in S. L. Johnson (ed.), *The Joy of Study. Papers on New Testament and related subjects presented to honor F. C. Grant*, New York, 1951, 127-148 (= *Essays* 720-735); H. Kasper, *Griechische Soter-Vorstellungen und ihre Übernahme in das politische Leben Roms*, Diss., Mainz, 1959; Cerfaux-Tondriau 426; J. R. Fears, "The Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology", *ANRW* 2, 17, 2 (1981) 827-948 at 860 f. with n. 135 and bibl.

[44] Habicht, "Augusteische Zeit" (above, note 7) 96 f. (Discussion).

The epithet ἐπιφανής, in contrast, is much closer to the religious sphere because of its association with the epiphanies of the gods.[45] A word with which it is regularly associated is παρουσία,[46] such as that of Demetrius Polyorcetes in Athens, which is said to have made a tremendous impression. On Nock's interpretation, however, *epiphanes* does not of itself normally imply that a king is a deity visibly incarnate but refers rather to his capacity for dramatic appearances in person or to the manifestation of his power, especially in war.[47] The epithet was first used of Ptolemy V as a regular title, possibly having been bestowed at his coming of age though the historical context is obscure, and later was adopted by Seleucid and other monarchs in Asia Minor, particularly by Antiochus IV.[48] Lastly there is θεός, which will naturally always imply cult, and is a common enough epithet in ruler cult both of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[49] Once again the title was not a regular part of nomenclature but an ἐπίκλησις placed before or after the proper name and bestowed with surprising liberality—doubtless due to the very elastic approach to divinity prevalent in antiquity.[50] It presumably testifies that the divine quality of an individual has revealed itself in some unstated way.

All this prepared the way for the final step of likening the ruler to the gods. Nearness to a deity can be effected in various ways: at one extreme by genealogical attachment, personal reverence or official propagation of a cult,[51] at the other by assimilation at different levels culminating in outright identification of the ruler with some divinity.[52] Just as a monarch may be called a living copy of a god, so the human can be compared with the divine through the medium of iconography or epigraphy. The practice went beyond and is really distinct from the normal form of ruler cult, but it is continually attested through most of classical antiquity and hence of central importance to the present topic.

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[45] Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 183 f.; Cerfaux-Tondriau 422. See further Addenda, p. 189.

[46] A. Deissman, *Licht vom Osten*^{4}, Tübingen, 1923, 314-320. See further D. Cuss, *Imperial Cult and Honorary Terms in the New Testament* (Paradosis 23), Fribourg, 1974, 134 ff.

[47] Nock, above, note 37. See further *id.*, " 'Son of God' in Pauline and Hellenistic Thought", *Gnomon* 33 (1961), 581-90 at 587 (=*Essays* 935).

[48] Above, Intr. II; with notes 75 f. See further Pfister in *RE* Suppl. 4 (1924) 308 f. s.v.; Pax in *RAC* 5 (1962) 834 ff.

[49] U. von Wilamovitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, Berlin, 1931, 1, 18 f., 363. For examples see G. Klaffenbach, "Zu griechischen Inschriften", *MH* 6 (1949), 223 with no. 18; P. Veyne, "Les honneurs posthumes de Flavia Domitilla et les dédicaces grecques et latines", *Latomus* 21 (1962), 49-98 at 57, n. 1; M. Le Glay, "Hadrien et l'Asklépieion de Pergame", *BCH* 100 (1976), 347-372 at 352 f.; further G. Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Stuttgart, 1938 (1957), 3, 91, n. 115 s.v. (Stauffer). For *theos* applied to Augustus in the municipal cult of Asia see Habicht, "Augusteische Zeit" 84, n. 1; further Addenda, p. 189.

[50] See "Divinity and Worship", below, pp. 41 f.

[51] Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 154-177, noting that the Ptolemies were linked particularly with Dionysus and Isis, as were the Seleucids with Zeus and Apollo and the Attalids with Dionysus.

[52] Cerfaux-Tondriau 417 ff., cf. J. Tondriau, "Le point culminant du culte des souverains", *LEC* 15 (1947), 101-113; *id.*, "Comparisons and Identifications of Rulers with Deities in the Hellenistic Period", *Rev. of Rel.* 13 (1948), 24-47.

As a first step in this direction may be noted a half-way stage in which a ruler is associated with a deity by being given some of a god's attributes, even those of several gods simultaneously. The procedure goes back to the time of Alexander the Great, whose contemporaries compared him with different gods, and continues under the Hellenistic monarchs, who are often portrayed with the attributes of various deities,[53] or, say, with eyes raised to heaven in token of their communion with the gods.[54] Similarly Roman emperors are assimilated to divinities on statues and especially in coin-portraits, a procedure to which official policy apparently had no objection.[55] The epigraphical counterpart is to attach the cult title of a deity to a ruler's name; for example a queen such as Arsinoe can borrow the epithets Basileia and Teleia, two aspects of Hera.[56] Assimilation of this kind lifts a ruler above the level of ordinary men but falls short of identifying him with a particular deity; it may be compared to investiture with the *ornamenta triumphalia* as opposed to the full distinction of a triumph.[57]

A higher degree of assimilation is achieved by representing a ruler as an actual god. Thus the statue of a deity can be given the features of a ruler or coins may represent a god who closely resembles a ruler.[58] In epigraphy a monarch is equated with a deity by the addition of the god's name (with or without cult title) to his or her own personal name as in Arsinoe-Aphrodite or Berenice-Isis;[59] private dedications even include cases of syncretism: where a monarch identified with one god is given *epikleseis* appropriate to another.[60] Alternatively the personal name may drop out altogether and the ruler is addressed simply by the name of the god or goddess in question.[61] What this amounts to is formal recognition of the ruler as the god in another shape and, as such, the practice is commonly called identification. The term is acceptable provided it is realized that identification of this kind is still a form of comparison[62]—strong, open comparison in contrast to the restrained innuendo of assimilation. What it does not mean, surely in most cases, is that the ruler is thought to be literally a god incarnate or is worshipped in that capacity; only that he is conceived as exercising some of the functions or qualities of a god to whom he approximates by analogy.[63] This explains why a ruler can even be assimilated to a goddess, Demetrius to Demeter for instance,[64] and why between 220 and 250 A.D. in particular the *sarcophagi* of private individuals can bear representations of deities or heroes who have the features of the occupant.[65] In this connection may also be noted the closely related practice of impersonating a deity.[66] A person who dresses up and plays the role of a god does so partly out of reverence, but also by way of self-comparison with the deity, whose powers and qualities he wishes to share or have reflected on himself; thus Alexander costumed himself as Hermes, Anthony as Dionysus, and Octavian as Apollo.[67] Imitation being always the sincerest form of flattery, there can be no doubt that to copy a god in this way was meant as a compliment; Eitrem draws a comparison with literary plagiarism, which in antiquity was evidently taken as a compliment also.[68]

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[53] For numismatic examples see R. A. Hadley, *Deified Kingship and Propaganda Coinage in the Early Hellenistic Age: 323-280 B.C.*, Ann Arbor, 1965.

[54] H. P. L'Orange, *Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture*, Oslo, 1947; *id.*, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World*, Oslo, 1953.

[55] H. Mattingly, *JRS* 13 (1923), 105 f. See in general D. Shotter, "Gods, Emperors and Coins," *G & R* 26 (1979), 48-57; further Addenda, p. 186.

[56] Fraser, *Ptolemaic Egypt* 1, 236-246.

[57] R. Turcan, "Le culte impérial au III° siècle", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 996-1048 at 1044.

[58] For Greek examples see Nock, "Notes" (above, Intr. II; note 76) 32, n. 53 (= *Essays* 146, n. 55); for Roman see above, note 55. On difficulty in identifying the ruler see CD 66, 15, 1.

[59] Nock, "Synnaos" (above, Intr. I; note 6) 40 (= *Essays* 233 f.); Veyne, "Honneurs" (above, note 49) 52-56; Fraser, *l.c.* (above, note 56). For fusion with a divinized abstraction see Cerfaux-Tondriau 419 f.

[60] See in general A. D. Nock in *AJPhil* 63 (1942), 217-24.

[61] Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 164 f.

Lastly identification is also implied by such titles as "New Dionysus" or "New Isis", a term that recurs in the Roman period.[69] That this implies any real belief in re-incarnation seems most unlikely, at least outside of Egypt; here one has to reckon with the Egyptian concept of the monarch as a reincarnation of Osiris, so that when Ptolemy XIII took the title Neos Dionysus more may be implied than simple metonymy.[70] Elsewhere, however, the usage can be viewed rather as a variant form of strong assimilation equivalent to fusion with a deity by epigraphical apposition. All that the vague title Neos Dionysus seems to mean is that the personality of some ruler gives the powerful impression that he reproduces here and now the qualities and achievements of Dionysus and in so doing appears as a new, fresh edition of that god; in other words he is the counterpart and representative on earth of a god from whom he is distinct, yet closely resembles.[71] The whole question of identification is in any case a difficult one, complicated by the rich use of metaphor. Language can outstrip practice and what may look at first sight like recognition of incarnation must for the most part have been little more than comparison or association of a kind acceptable in ancient thought though hardly today.

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[62] Nock, "Synnaos" 42 (=*Essays* 235). The situation is more complicated in Egypt; see "Divinity and Worship", below, p. 39.

[63] E. Bickerman, "Consecratio" in den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte* 3-25 at 3 f.

[64] Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 151.

[65] Latte, *RRG* 316, n. 5; R. Turcan, *Les Sarcophages romains à Représentations dionysiaques. Essai de Chronologie et d'Histoire religieuse* (*BEFAR* 210), Paris, 1966, *passim*; *id.*, "Les sarcophages romains et le problème du symbolisme funéraire", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1700-1735 at 1718 f. 1729-33. For the development of the practice see now H. Wrede, *Consecratio in Formam Deorum: vergöttlichte Privatpersonen in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Mainz, 1981, 158-175 and throughout.

[66] S. Eitrem, "Zur Apotheose", *S O* 10 (1932), 31-43.

[67] For the eccentricities of Gaius, in whose case the practice seems to have been a form of megalomania, see Cerfaux-Tondriau 346 f.

[68] Above, note 66, 42.

[69] For νέος applied to Hellenistic and Roman rulers see Nock "Beliefs", (above, note 35) 93, n. 84 (=*Essays* 43, n. 84); A. Bruhl, *Liber Pater* (*BEFAR* 175), Paris, 1953, 182-196 at 186 f.

[70] Nock, "Notes" (above, Intr. II; note 76) 33-37 (=*Essays* 147-152); cf. *id.*, "Son of God" (above, note 47) *ibid.* For the possibility that Ptolemy IV may also have been called "New Dionysus" see Fredricksmeyer, "Divine Honors" (above, Intr. II; note 12) 41 f.

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[71] For a poetical version of the idea see "Augustus and the West", below, pp. 88 f., note 40, *ad* Horace, *Odes* 1, 2, 41-44.

IV. DIVINITY AND WORSHIP

As a general rule, *isotheoi timai* appear to have been appropriate whenever an individual had been responsible for upholding the existence of the state, such as by freeing it from foreign domination or defending it against the attacks of an enemy. Above all divine honours will be due to one who founds a state, thus bringing it into existence, and it is notable that those who restore a state's sovereignty are called new founders, the event being often counted as the commencement of a new era. Extraordinary deeds of this order merited extraordinary honours and, in recognition of such, a state will spontaneously decree what the Milesians called "the greatest and fairest honours".[1] So, too, with the institutional cults of the Hellenistic kingdoms. If the founder of a city was worthy of divine honours, *a fortiori* might the ruler of a kingdom lay claim himself to the same form of distinction. Nor need such a step provoke opposition or hostility. Evidence suggests, for instance, that the official cult of Arsinoe, founded after her death by her brother Ptolemy II Philadelphus, was warmly received and practised by the Greek inhabitants of the town of Ptolemais.[2] We have seen that the principal difference between civic and dynastic cults is that the initiative no longer lay with the city-state but with the monarch, who imposed a cult for his own purposes. Yet despite the altered circumstances, the reason why a monarch required divine honours from his subjects was undoubtedly the thought that only *isotheoi timai* were appropriate for one in whose power lay the fate of an entire kingdom.

For lesser services the Greeks were accustomed to award one or more of the secular honours that had long existed in the city-state and continued to be granted in an age when it was possible to pay cult to a living man as a god.[3] Honours at this level included crowns, public eulogies, front seats at theatrical productions (προεδρία), exemption from public burdens (ἀτέλεια), free meals at the Prytaneum, even citizenship. The erection of a statue to a civic benefactor in some public place is of particular interest since we have seen that the statue could sometimes be placed in a temple, where it need have no more significance than if put in the *agora*. The quality of secular honours was proportional to the εὐεργεσίαι and therefore depended upon a subjective decision of the community, the most prestigious τιμή being a statue, which was itself of varying worth according to the material used.[4] Benefits for which human honours were conferred could include the most diverse services to the state—financial, economic, or diplomatic support, artistic success, outstanding performance as a magistrate, and similar contributions. All of these are lesser accomplishments than those for which divine honours might be appropriate, but whether an individual was worthy of human or divine honours[5] depended in the final reckoning on what a community judged to be appropriate. The full range of possible *timai*, from human to heroic or divine, is well illustrated by the various honours accorded to all who had helped lift the blockade of Rhodes in 304 or had served the Antigonids at Athens between 307 and 302.[6] Obviously a city could go too far and what was deemed worthy of divine honours in one case might merit only human honours in another: the title *euergetes*, for example, can be used equally well in either context (above, p. 27).

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[1] Habicht, *Gottmenschentum* 114 with refs.

[2] Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 2, 217.

[3] Habicht's survey, *o.c.* 206-213 is most serviceable.

[4] See the discussion in "Liturgy and Ceremonial", below, Vol. II. Cf. recently C. Letta, "Le imagines Caesarum di un praefectus castrorum Aegypti e l'XI coorte pretoria", *Athenaeum* 56 (1978), 3-19 at 15 ff.

The conclusion to be drawn is that divine and human honours differed in degree but not in kind; both belong at different intervals on essentially the same scale.[7] There is therefore no illogicality in listing secular and divine honours side by side in the same decree, as in that of Ilion for Antiochus I (*OGIS* 219). Nor need it cause any surprise if, in defining *timé*, Aristotle feels no incongruity in jumbling sacred and profane honours without distinction:

> τιμὴ δ' ἐστὶ μὲν σημεῖον εὐεργετικῆς δόξης, τιμῶνται δὲ δικαίως μὲν καὶ μάλιστα οἱ εὐεργετηκότες.....μέρη δὲ τιμῆς θυσίαι, μνῆμαι ἐν μέτροις καὶ ἄνευ μέτρων, γέρα, τεμένη, προεδρίαι, τάφοι, εἰκόνες, τροφαὶ δημόσιαι, τὰ βαρβαρικά, οἷον προσκυνήσεις καὶ ἐκστάσεις, δῶρα τὰ πὰρ' ἑκάστοις τίμια.
>
> (Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1361^{a}, 28-37)

As Nock and others have repeatedly stressed,[8] this indicates an imprecise, flexible distinction on the part of the ancients between what we should term worship on the one hand and homage on the other. It also explains the peculiarity mentioned above (p. 21), that the same word *timé* is used both for human and divine honours.

To a modern mind, accustomed to the Judaeo-Christian concept of God as a single, all-powerful, good and eternal being, the notion of paying cult to a man as though he were a god seems a very strange one indeed.[9] But once the nature of divine honours is properly grasped it becomes much easier to understand that for a man to be given *isotheoi timai* in no way implies any recognition that he was a god in reality—a god in the sense that the inhabitants of Mt. Olympus were gods. As Hepding first noted, *isotheos* is not yet *theos*—theologically the word is closer in meaning to *theios*[10]—and to be paid cult ὥσπερ θεός implies parity with the Olympians only in respect to the honours paid;[11] the very term *isotheoi timai* surely implies that the recipient of such honours is not personally a god. The line of demarcation between the old gods and the new comes out in a variety of ways. In some instances one finds a deliberate attempt to emphasize the fact whenever men of this stature are put on equal terms with "real" gods. The Athenians, for example, wove pictures of Demetrius and Antigonus into the πέπλος of Athene along with pictures of Athene and Zeus (Plut., *Demetr.* 10, 12). The widespread, though not obligatory, use of the cult epithet *theos* is particularly significant in this connection since the term was rarely used of Zeus or other deities, who had no need of the word to make their divinity known;[12] no one doubted that Zeus was a god, so in order to distinguish him from other gods one resorted to hyperbole, to calling him "the *sole* god", for instance, or "all gods at once".[13] Significantly, *theos* is normally applied to a ruler strictly within the context of cult honours and under other circumstances, for example in framing laws, monarchs speak of themselves as kings, not gods. Again, rulers who receive a cult themselves make offerings to traditional gods.[14] This is just one aspect of the ambiguous position of the *Gottmensch*, the pseudo-god who became a god yet remained a man: as a god he receives offerings, as a man he makes them.[15] So Alexander can receive as well as offer sacrifice (Athen. 12, 537F; cf. Arrian, *Anab.* 4, 4, 1; 8, 1). This particular point must be made with caution, however, for it is also true of the Egyptian Pharaoh, whose theological status was certainly different from that, say, of a Seleucid monarch;[16] also Hermes or even Zeus can be represented as making offerings to other gods.[17]

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[5] For the distinction between the two see the speech of Callisthenes in Arrian, *Anabasis* 4, 11, 2 ff.

[6] Habicht, *o.c.* 109 f., 55-58.

[7] See now Price, "Sacrifice" (above, Intr. II; note 10) 42.

[8] "Synnaos" 50 (= *Essays* 241); cf. Versnel, "Heersercultus" (above Intr. I; note 7) 149.

[9] Charlesworth, "Observations" (above, Intr. I; note 11) 5-8.

The inherent contradictions of *Gottmenschentum* are particularly evident in dedications. In the first place we have numerous dedications that are made to a god *on behalf of* (ὑπέρ) a ruler or the royal house.[18] In this case the so-called loyalty formula (corresponding to *pro salute* in inscriptions of the Roman period) certainly implies that the ruler is treated as a man since one would not make a dedication to one deity on behalf of another.[19] There are also dedications in which a ruler or a city, for instance, is associated with a deity yet there can be no question of a joint cult. Nock has shown that the dative of the human recipient can often be seen to mean "for", since the altar or dedication is *to* the god but *for* the honour or benefit of the person or group of persons also appearing in the dative.[20] On the other hand it is clear that such a dative is very similar to a true votive; the dative can imply either homage or worship and what turns out to be a dedication *in honour of* a ruler can look at first sight like a dedication *to* him.[21] Still other inscriptions attest unabashed direct dedications. No one would doubt that a public structure dedicated to a ruler records a simple act of homage on the part of the subject; but, where an altar, for example, bears the ruler's name in the dative (or genitive) case, this type of formula can only mean that the ruler is placed formally on the same level with a god.[22] Direct dedications *to* a member of the royal house are much less frequent than those to a god on his behalf but they certainly occur in private cult, which must reflect the public cult of a ruler: in some cases these are to a ruler alone—Arsinoe, for example (cf. *OGIS* 31 f.); in others to a ruler with, say, Serapis and Isis (cf. *OGIS* 62 f., 82). Direct dedications are *isotheoi timai* in the full sense of the word; the ruler is treated on equal terms with a god just as lower down on the scale he is treated as a man, if a very special one, by dedications to the gods on his behalf.

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[10] Habicht, "Augusteische Zeit" (above, Intr. III; note 7) 95; Addenda, p. 189.

[11] Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 141, nn. 1 f. with refs. See further Addenda, p. 186.

[12] L. Bieler, ΘΕΙΟΣ ’ΑΝΗΡ, Vienna, 1935, 1, 12; Nilsson *GGR*^{3}2, 182. Conversely θεά is used consistently with ‘Ρώμη, presumably to emphasize the fact that she is a divinity: Mellor, ΡΩΜΗ (above, Intr. III; note 7) 112.

[13] Veyne, *Pain et Cirque* 566.

[14] Taeger, *Charisma* 1, 368; Habicht, *Gottmenschentum* 196; Addenda, p. 186.

[15] Versnel, "Heersercultus" 151.

[16] Nock, "Synnaos" 16 (= *Essays* 214).

[17] S. Eitrem, "Zur Apotheose", *SO* 15/16 (1936), 136 f.; E. Simon, *Opfernde Götter*, Berlin, 1953.

[18] Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 1, 190, 226. See also his note on the ὑπέρ formula *o.c.* 2, 374, n. 297, correcting Taeger, *Charisma* 1, 299, 302 f. Nock, "Synnaos" 23 with n. 4, observes that such offerings can be made on behalf of a ruler even when styled *theos*.

The ambiguity of the ruler's status is equally apparent in sacrifices. How these bear upon the issue emerges from Philo's account of the complaint made to Caligula by the Jews, who insisted that—contrary to what the Greeks were claiming—they had in fact offered sacrifice on various occasions. Gaius answered that they might have made sacrifice but it was to another even if on behalf of himself. What good was that if they did not offer sacrifice *to* the emperor? (*Leg. ad Gaium* 356 f.)[23] The episode confirms that to sacrifice *on behalf of* someone was viewed as a very different matter from sacrificing *to* him,[24] exactly the point which *mutatis mutandis* we have seen to be true of dedications.

On the basis of this distinction a recent study has attempted to penetrate behind the surviving evidence for sacrifices in the ruler cult, both descriptive and prescriptive, and to work out the ideas that underlie sacrificial ritual.[25] What is immediately striking is the way the record conforms to the picture presented by dedications. Thus sacrifices are most often attested *on behalf of* a Hellenistic king rather than to him:[26] at Ilium, for example, a document analyzed by L. Robert attests private sacrifices made to the gods by the citizens and domiciled strangers on behalf of the king, Antiochus I, and the people (11. 30-32).[27] Sometimes, however, a ruler or a royal house can enjoy sacrifices made not only *for* but also *to* him; thus both categories are found side by side in connection with Demetrius Poliorcetes at Athens (late-fourth-century) or Ptolemy and his family at Cyrene (about the turn of the second century).[28] With cases where either form is attested may be compared sacrifices, the exact intent of which is left vague, perhaps deliberately so. For instance sacrifice is prescribed τῷ βασιλεῖ on the altar of Zeus Soter at Pergamum (?) (*OGIS* 332); here the dative seems to leave open the question as to whether these sacrifices were made *for* or *to* the king, not that one need suppose any doubt in the minds of those responsible for the inscription.[29] On the other hand there is a fair amount of evidence on S. R. F. Price's lists for sacrifices *to* living Ptolemaic, Seleucid or Attalid rulers.[30] Of particular interest is a papyrus (*P Oxy.* 2465) recording part of the proceedings and ritual to be followed at the festival of the Arsinoeia at Alexandria. What this seems to show is that, in conjunction with the procession led by the *kanephoros*, sacrifices were offered by citizens and residents to Arsinoe Philadelphus (11. 12 ff.) and performed on small temporary altars in front of the houses or along the streets where the *kanephoros* proceeded.[31] This papyrological evidence can be brought into relation with a series of Ptolemaic οἰνοχόαι bearing images of the deified queen pouring out wine, also of an altar and a pillar.[32] On the analysis of D. Burr Thompson these faience jugs were designed for libations in the ritual of the ruler cult,[33] as confirmed by inscriptions on the shoulder of the jugs, or on the altar which they depict, with the ruler's name in the genitive.[34] The altars were intended for the sacrifice of victims and correspond to the altars mentioned in the papyrus, likewise to private altars for the cult of Antiochus III that are known from an inscription found at Teos.[35]

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[19] Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 182.

[20] "Synnaos" 47-52 (= *Essays* 239-242); *id*, "Deification and Julian", *JRS* 47 (1957), 115-123 at 115 (= *Essays* 833); cf. Veyne, "Honneurs" (above, Intr. III; note 49) 83 f. with n. 3.

[21] Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 142.

[22] Fraser *o.c.* 227, cf. 263 with nn. 593 f.

[23] Fraser, *o.c.* 227; F. G. B. Millar, "The Imperial Cult and the Persecutions" in den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte* 145-165 at 149, cf. 157; Price, "Sacrifice" 30.

[24] Cf. G. Daux, "ΥΠΕΡ suivi de l'accusativ dans les dialectes", *REG* 48 (1935), 57-62.

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[25] Price, *o.c.* cf. *JRS* 71 (1981), 134.

[26] Price, *o.c.* 30, notes that sacrifices to Hellenistic kings or Roman emperors are always *thysiai* rather than *enhagismata*, which were appropriate to the cult of heroes; cf. Nock, "Heroes" (above, Intr. I; note 4).

[27] L. Robert, "Sur un decret d'Ilion et sur un papyrus concernant des cultes royaux", in *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles* (American Studies in Papyrology 1), New Haven, 1966, 175-211 at 183 f.

[28] Price, 38, nn. 100, 102, cf. 101, 106 with refs.

[29] Nock, "Synnaos" 23 (= *Essays* 219 f.); Versnel, "Heersercultus" 148-50; Price, *ibid.* Note also that the priest is styled ἱερεὺς τοῦ βασιλεώς (1. 13), which formally at any rate allows for the possibility of sacrificing either for or to the king. For Roman parallels see Price 31. Further details of the inscription in Hansen, *Attalids* (above, Intr. II; note 78) 467.

[30] *O.c.* 37, n. 93 with refs.

[31] Robert, "Cultes royaux" (above, note 27) 192 ff. In the context the dative (1. 12) can only mean *to* Arsinoe Philadelphus.

[32] Burr Thompson, *Oinochoai* (above, Intr. III; note 19) 69-75, 117-124; for the pillar see *ibid.* 62-69. See further O. Murray, *JHS* 96 (1976), 218 f.

What all this adds up to is a clear picture of sacrifices both to and for the king, though more direct sacrifices are attested in the early days of ruler cult,[36] which, as we have seen, went furthest in the direction of treating the ruler like a god.[37] How far one is justified in inferring a basic shift of emphasis to sacrifices on behalf of the monarch or can relate this to the changed political conditions of the later Hellenistic period[38] must remain an open question when the sample of data is relatively small. In any event there can be no doubt that the conception of the ruler could vary and that this was as a result of his peculiar intermediary status: above other men but below the gods. On the whole it would appear that in sacrifices as in dedications he was more often treated as a man with offerings to the gods on his behalf; but even when sacrifices were made *to* him and these were in thanksgiving for temporal benefits he had bestowed on a city or institution, it is still clear that they were essentially honorific.[39] Like dedications to a ruler, direct sacrifices belong to the upper reaches of *isotheoi timai* and there are traces in the Roman period at least of the thought that they were still not of the same order as sacrifices to the gods.[40]

Essentially the same picture emerges from other evidence. Cases where a ruler shared a temple on terms of equal partnership with a god certainly occur but on the evidence assembled by Nock there are few, at any rate outside of Egypt.[41] Above all one does not as a rule pray *to* a ruler, only *for* him.[42] It is true that in the Ithyphallikos[43] the Athenians sang to Demetrius "we pray you, first grant us peace" (1. 21) but what they wanted was an end to war, not peace of soul. Despite the term "pray", they were asking for a temporal benefit that Demetrius as a human ruler was very capable of giving. This is exaggerated language due to emotion and is put into perspective by the context of a poem in which Demetrius is not only associated with the gods but distinguished from them as one present and real, not of wood or stone. The passage is best interpreted as an outpouring of euphuistic language in a moment when the Athenians spontaneously address prayers to Demetrius as they had once called on Athene, measuring him in their enthusiasm by the standard of a "real" god.[44] In much the same way the Trojans in their city addressed prayers to Hector as to a god (*Iliad* 22, 1. 394) and Odysseus promised that, if he returned safely, he would offer prayers to Nausicaa as to a god (*Odyssey* 8, 467 f.). More pertinently, in a fragment of Eupolis the chorus say of the Athenian generals of the previous generation: "We used to pray to them as gods, for that is what they were" (117,6).[45] The same interpretation presumably applies to the prayers with which the Syracurans greeted Dion as if he were a god (Plut., *Dion* 29, 1; cf. 46, 1).

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[33] Cf. Robers, "Cultes Royaux" 208-210. For descendants of these *oinochoai* in the Roman ruler cult see below, Intr. VIII; note 10.

[34] *O.c.* 19 f., 149 ff.; cf. Robert 203-207. Analogy suggests that sacrifice *to* the king was what was really meant in the Pergamum inscription: above, note 29.

[35] Hermann, "Antiochus" (above, Intr. II; note 71).

[36] Taeger, *Charisma* 1, 302.

[37] Above, Intr. II; note 49.

[38] So Price, *o.c.* 38 f. But see Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 2, 374, n. 297.

[39] They would thus correspond to the first of the three types of sacrifices to the gods classified by Porphyry; cf. Price 36 with n. 80, citing *De abstinentia* 2, 24 (Budé); van Straten (above, Intr. III; note 5) 66 ff.

[40] *Acta Pionii* 8. See Millar, "Persecutions" (above, note 23) 150; cf. Price 36, n. 87. (In Eusebius *MP* 1, 1 the libations which Procopius was ordered to make to the four emperors do not appear to be specifically a lower requirement as in the episode of Pionius.)

[41] "Synnaos" especially 39, 42 f. (= *Essays* 233, 235 f.).

[42] W. Schubart, *Die religiöse Haltung des frühen Hellenismus* (Der Alte Orient 35, 2), Leipzig, 1937, 18. See further Addenda, p. 189.

[43] Above, Intr. II, note 4.

Against this analysis must be set a number of *testimonia* that give a new dimension to the subject: definite traces of the ascription to the ruler of not just the rank of a god but effective divine power. What is immediately striking is that this class of evidence seems limited to Egypt, where the Ptolemies, as descendants of the Pharaohs, were thought of as sons of Amun Re and the king could be held as a re-incarnation of Dionysus and his queen identified with Isis or Aphrodite.[46] Of key significance is that one occasionally finds offerings to a Ptolemaic ruler in the form of an "ex voto" (εὐχήν), the implication of which is that supernatural aid has been asked for and received. Sometimes a ruler is associated with the gods in an "ex voto",[47] which diminishes its impact, but we have at least one instance of an "ex voto" to Ptolemy and Berenice, θεοὶ σωτῆρες in thanksgiving for deliverance (conceivably from a storm);[48] the dedication was apparently made in their lifetime[49] and, as the names show, by Greeks. In view of this it seems probable that more than poetic conceit lies behind an epigram of Posidippus saying that Arsinoe-Philadelphos-Aphrodite will grant safe sailing and a smooth sea for those who pray amidst the storm (Athen. 318D), and more than mere comparison may be implied by the identification with Aphrodite-Zephyritis of Arsinoe, to whom Callicrates, the admiral of Ptolemy II, dedicated a temple in this guise before her death.[50] Certainly control of the weather was held as a sign of functional divinity in antiquity.[51] Again, the fact that Berenice II dedicated a lock of her hair in the same temple of Arsinoe-Zephyritis,[52] as an offering for her husband's safety when he departed for the Syrian Wars, suggests effective deity on the part of the deceased Arsinoe II, who thus appears as a god of saving after her death, just as she had preserved those at sea during her life.[53] The interpretation is strengthened by the fact that Arsinoe III similarly dedicated a lock to Artemis before the battle of Raphia, which her brother, Ptolemy IV Philopator, then won much to everyone's surprise. Examples such as these strongly suggest belief in the divine powers of the Egyptian ruler,[54] both living and dead, and must be separated from, say, the power of intercession claimed by Antiochus of Commagene[55] or vague notions of the dead Alexander as a power still strong to aid his comrades.[56]

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[44] Veyne, *Pain et Cirque* (above, Intr. II; note 2) 585.

[45] Fredricksmeyer, "Background" (above, Intr. I; note 9) 194 citing also Aesch., *Hicet.* 980-83: "It is right to offer prayers to the Argives and to sacrifice and pour libations to them as to Olympian gods, as they are our saviours without a doubt".

[46] See above, "Hellenistic Ruler Cult", p. 15; "*Isotheoi Timai*", p. 29; further Burr Thompson, *Oinochoai* 58.

[47] Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 2, 417, n. 594 citing *JEA* 41 (1955), 134, no. (16).

[48] Nock, "Julian" (above, note 20) 115 (=*Essays* 834), citing (n. 5) O. Rubensohn, "Neue Inschriften aus Ägypten", *AFP* 5 (1913), 156 f.; cf. Versnel, "Heersercultus" 152.

[49] An "ex voto" to Ptolemy and Berenice as *theoi soteres* would more easily fit the period after their deaths, following the establishment of an official cult by Ptolemy Philadelphus (above, Intr. II; p. 14). The terms βασιλέα and βασίλισσαν nevertheless seem to place the text in their lifetime: so Fraser, *o.c.* 2, p. 389, n. 393. If so, this must be an example of private devotion anticipating a later state cult; cf. Bickerman, "Consecratio" (above, Intr. III; note 63) 8.

But these exceptions apart—and it must be reiterated that they are all Egyptian—it is plain that godhead of the kind we are discussing must be understood as a sort of rank or status achieved through merit, with no implication whatsoever of divine nature. Unlike the immanent deity of the Olympians, the divinity of the ruler does not imply that he can confer supernatural benefits; only on the natural level can he perform feats or bring help of the kind one might earlier have asked of the gods. As Nock insisted, the cult of the ruler is largely a matter of giving not receiving.[57] Habicht is surely right that, when a city honoured a man as a founder, benefactor, or saviour by granting him an altar, image, priest and festival, it did not create him a god but simply recognized him as one whose services had exceeded the ordinary, human level and were therefore fit to be rewarded by divine honours.[58] There was no act of consecration: nouns such as ἀποθέωσις, ἐκθέωσις and their corresponding verbal forms do not even occur before the third century, when they appear to originate in Ptolemaic Egypt; though whether this is necessarily a reflection of religious practice is unclear. The formal process of deification was reserved for the Roman period, when the enrolment of a deceased emperor among the gods had the character of a posthumous vote of confidence, a legal judgement upon his actions in life.[59] By contrast the foundation of a man's cult by a city-state was declarative not constitutive; it did not make him a god but recognized that he was a god by reason of his merits and exploits.[60] Essentially, the conferring of divinity was the granting of an honour due in return for benefactions and, even when a cult was imposed from above, it seems clear that the ruler *wished* to be considered worthy of the honours he assumed. In much the same way local communities established festivals of the gods in recognition of special benefits granted by Zeus or Athene, for example, who would then be paid cult in their local idiom.[61] It follows that strict English usage calls for the form "divinity" rather than divinity and the convention will therefore be observed throughout the following essays.

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[50] Nock, "Julian" 116 (= *Essays* 835); Fraser, *o.c.* 239, 568 f. The circumstance that altars to Arsinoe in the streets of Alexandria are of sand is attributed by Robert to the assimilation of Arsinoe with Aphrodite Euploia: "Cultes Royaux" (above, note 27) 199-202.

[51] Versnel, "Heerserkultus" 153, n. 176 with bibl.

[52] For a sketch of the Greek background see G. Nachtergael, "Bérénice II, Arsinoé III et l'offrande de la boucle," *CE* 55 (1980), 240-253.

[53] Burr Thompson, *Oinochoai* 61; Fraser, *o.c.* 239; Versnel, *o.c.* 153.

[54] For the miracles of healing worked by Vespasian at Alexandria see "The Theology of the Roman Emperor", below, Vol. IV.

[55] Nock, "Synnaos" 26 with n. 2.

[56] Nock, "Julian" 116; J. R. Fears, "The Theology of Victory at Rome: Approaches and Problems", *ANRW* 2, 17, 2 (1981) 736-826 at 770.

[57] "Synnaos" 14.

[58] *Gottmenschentum* 171-179. See further Addenda, p. 186.

That this interpretation corresponds basically to the ancient outlook seems confirmed by the fact that there is so little trace of hostility to the concept of the ruler's "divinity". If historians or biographers of the Hellenistic period seem to attach little importance to the cult of the ruler—at least they do not seem to have found it a phenomenon particularly worth recording[62]—the reason must be that it was plainly understood that men deemed noteworthy of divine honours were still not divine themselves. Whenever opposition is mentioned in the sources, it is politically motivated and directed against the rendering of divine honours to some particular individual rather than against the practice itself.[63] Direct evidence of the attitude of contemporaries is very sparse but in the Hellenistic period there seems to have been no wide-scale or durable opposition to the ruler cult comparable to that of the Christians. On the contrary, evidence occasionally points the other way. For example, Livy reproduces from Polybius the story of the uproar among the Argives, when on the first day of the Assembly the herald omitted Philip's name from the invocation to the gods (32, 25, 2-4). The point of the fuss was that Philip had been deprived of a *legitimus honor*, a law having been passed that his name should be included with those of the patron deities of the city. But there is nothing to suggest that the people of Argos believed Philip himself to be a god; the demonstration was entirely political in tone.[64] Perhaps the closest indication of the attitude to divine honours in a Greek city-state, which is where the ruler cult began, is that a simple decree could rescind the divine honours of one ruler and replace them with the cult of a political opponent. Only later does the inherent contradiction between the divinity of a god and the mortality of a man become an issue to be resolved by the idea of passing from one life to another through being carried up by the gods.[65] All the same, it must be conceded that our evidence largely reflects the views of the upper classes, who had forgotten that it was *hybris* to set a man on the same level as a god.[66] We have really no way of knowing what the lower strata of society thought; all generalizations run the risk of exaggerating the possibility of devotion at one extreme or scepticism at the other on the part of many who may not themselves have known the depths of their own souls. That some feeling for the impious will still have persisted in the general populace seems nevertheless clear from Plutarch's report of the signs that were observed of heaven's displeasure at the divine honours paid to Demetrius in Athens (*Demetr.* 12).[67]

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[59] See "Divus Augustus", below, pp. 159 f.

[60] So Maecenas in CD 52, 35, 5. Cf. Veyne, *Pain et Cirque* 737, n. 58; further *id.*, "Honneurs" (above, Intr. III; note 49) 61, n. 1, noting that when a city granted an *epiklesis* to an emperor or an imperial lady, the decision was similarly presented as a fact—as if the *epiklesis* had always been part of the name, a state of affairs which is now recognised rather than decided upon.

[61] Nilsson, *Gnomon* 29 (1957), 213.

[62] Habicht 133 f.

[63] *Ibid.* 213-221, 270 f.

Correct as this analysis seems to be, it is clear that a practice of this nature could not have evolved as it did were it not for contemporary developments in religious psychology. The boundary between gods and men was narrower in Graeco-Roman belief than in ours and more fluid.[68] The gods were immortal but, that quality apart, their powers and abilities differed in degree from one to another—Zeus himself was not omnipotent.[69] So if a man performed meritorious or extraordinary deeds, if he was endowed with great beauty or strength, that was recognized as a manifestation of a godlike quality and a title to "divinity" with its appropriate recognition.[70] Particularly in the fourth century there was a growing tendency to perceive something divine in human beings who were out of the ordinary.[71] Plato, for one, makes great play of the term θεῖος ἀνήρ, applying it to poets, seers, philosophers and politicians. The notion was especially applicable to wonder-men like Empedocles or Epimenides, while Aristotle goes so far as to say that, if in a state there existed a man to whom no one was comparable in virtue or political capacity, he should be rated as a god among men (*Politics* 3, 13, 1248a). Alongside this celebrated remark, which made a great impression, must be weighed the Stoic model of the ruler as a living god, not just a god-like mechanism. Such trends of thought will have been encouraged by the tendency to call a man a god out of flattery or adulation.[72] Thus Isocrates wrote that, if Philip conquered Persia, there would be nothing left for him except to become a god (*Epist. ad Philippum* 3). Language of this type is in fact very old, occurring already in Homer, who applies the word θεῖος not only to heroes such as Odysseus or Achilles, but also to kings, heralds and bards. Epithets such as θεοείκελος, θεοειδής, ἀντίθεος are common currency in the Homeric lays and create the context in which one might address prayers, for example, to a potential deliverer (above, pp. 37 f.). Similarly, just as Priam observed of Hector that he seemed to be the son not of a mortal but of a god (*Iliad* 24, 258), so it was claimed of exceptional men that they were descended or begotten of the gods. Homer and Hesiod were themselves posthumously celebrated as "heroes" and, when Plato died, his nephew Speusippus declared him to be the son of Apollo.[73] So in the Ithyphallikos the Athenians could hail Demetrius as the son of Poseidon and Aphrodite (11. 13 f.). Sentiments of this kind could even be inspired by personal ties, particularly indebtedness for some benefit, and one might recognize someone as "a god to you" out of sheer gratitude.[74]

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[64] C. F. Edson, "Legitimus Honor. A Note on Hellenistic Ruler-Worship", *HThR* 26 (1933), 324 f.

[65] Habicht 198-200; cf. Bickerman "Consecratio" (above, Intr. III; note 63) 16 with n. 2.

[66] Eitrem, "Apotheose" (above, Intr. III; note 66) 33. See further the complaints of Hyperides, *Epitaphios* col. 8 with the analysis of E. Bickerman, "Sur un passage d'Hypéride", *Athenaeum* 41 (1963), 70-85.

[67] Nilsson, *Gnomon* 29 (1957), 215 f.; *GGR*^{3}2, 186 f. with Habicht's rejoinder, *Gottmenschentum* 270.

[68] Versnel, "Heersercultus" 144 f., noting the proverb "man is a mortal god, god is an immortal man".

[69] Fredricksmeyer, "Background" (above, Intr. I; note 9) 193 f.

[70] Nock, "Notes" (above, Intr. II; note 76) 31 (= *Essays* 145); K. J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality*, Oxford, 1974, 81. See further in general D. Roloff, *Gottähnlichkeit, Vergöttlichung und Erhöhung zu seligen Leben*, Berlin, 1970.

[71] O. Weinreich, "Antikes Gottmenschentum", *Neue Jahrb.* 2 (1926), 633-651; Bieler, ΘΕΙΟΣ 'ΑΝΗΡ (above, note 12) 1-20; Talbert, "Biographies" (above, Intr. II; note 20) 1626-42.

What all this will have meant is that since the notion of the divine mortal was very much in the air, a man's contemporaries will have found no difficulty in paying him cult should they be disposed to do so as a result of his benefactions. Whether one should consequently speak of the worship of such a man is another matter. The question is really whether the ruler cult is to be considered a genuine religion or simply a political and social exercise.[75] Was it no more than the transference of the conventions of religion to monarchy, homage expressed under cultual rather than secular forms—as if instead of drinking a toast to the Queen one were to take communion from the chalice for precisely the same purpose and with precisely the same intentions, not that Christian parallels are very helpful? Such at least is the opinion of Nilsson and others, who speak of the ruler cult as a religious vacuum, the shell without the egg.[76]

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[72] See Balsdon's discussion, "Divinity" (above, Intr. II; note 18) 363-367; Weinstock, *DJ* 288.

[73] Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 139.

[74] Nock, "Notes" 31, n. 51 (= *Essays* 145); Charlesworth, "Observations" (above, Intr. I; note 11) 12 f.; H. Fugier, *Recherches sur l'Expression du Sacré dans la Langue latine*, Paris, 1963, 278 f.; Habicht, "Augusteische Zeit" (above, p. Intr. III; note 7) 43.

[75] On the difficulties of defining religion see the bibliography cited by Liebeschuetz, *Continuity* (above, Intr. II; note 3) 72; further Veyne, *Pain et Cirque* 585-589; K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves*, Cambridge, 1978, 215. See also Addenda, p. 187.

Much, if not everything, depends of course upon what one means by worship, the principal ingredient of religion. Nock defined it as implying in the full sense "the expectation of blessing to be mediated in a supernatural way", and consistently with this definition pointed to the general absence of "ex voto's" in the ruler cult. "The touchstone of piety in antiquity is the votive offering, made in recognition of supposed deliverance in some invisible manner from sickness or other peril. This we do not find directed to rulers dead or living".[77] As the vast bulk of the evidence shows that rulers were not thought to have supernatural powers,[78] the absence of "ex voto's" is hardly surprising. In any case, is the "ex voto" the sole test or even a necessary test of ancient piety? Versnel has pointed out that there are less private votives to Zeus than to Asclepius and that Hades had practically no cult in Greece at all. Yet that in no way makes either Zeus or Hades less of a "real" god.[79] More fundamentally, den Boer has argued that the idea of a contract is not a necessary element of an ancient religion.[80] A contract is a metaphor, an anthropomorphic way of looking at things; indeed it used to be thought that systems without contracts were more truly religious than those with. In this case the whole idea of a contract is inappropriate to the *Gottmensch*: the ruler who became a god yet stayed a man could not be bound by such a legal agreement for if he failed to keep the bargain he might forfeit the subject's allegiance. The lack of "ex voto's" shows then that the ruler was not a god like other gods but does not necessarily imply that the ruler cult was a degeneration of religion nor that those who practised it were lacking in religiosity.

Again, is what characterizes worship mainly or pre-eminently the expectation of blessings? Surely hymns of praise and litanies of thanksgiving are just as much a part of true piety as are petition and intercession. No doubt the ruler cult became often enough a mechanical exercise, an empty set of formalities, but it could also involve feelings as sincere or heartfelt as in the worship of the gods.[81] Certainly there can be no mistaking the emotion bordering on hysteria that springs in every line of the hymn to Demetrius Polyorcetes.[82] Enthusiasm of this kind is of a special sort, resembling in some ways the frenetic adulation that a generation ago was accorded to dictators but also, one would think, an element of the true religious feeling that can lie behind the facade of religion. Nor does it really matter that the Athenians were thanking Demetrius for benefits on a natural level, of the kind the *Gottmensch* could give; the Christian thanks God often enough for material blessings.[83] And what of reverence or veneration? The ancient world was very much larger than our own and the subject who rarely saw his monarch may well have been conscious of the same feeling of awe, the same sense of inferiority as one might have before a superior being: mystified by legend and distance, the ruler could become a *rex tremendae majestatis* who stood between men and the gods and ruled the state as Zeus ruled the universe.[84] This again is surely a part of true religious sentiment. Evidence for its occurrence is provided by the story of the physician Menecrates, who aped Zeus and paraded in his guise accompanied by a choir of patients he had cured, dressed up as gods.[85] His followers certainly took him very seriously and considered it blasphemous when Philip II, who was too much of a rationalist, invited Menecrates and his crew to dinner but then had his servants burn incense and offer libations to them while the rest ate (Aelian, *VH* 12, 51; Athenaeus 289). Versnel compares their attitude to the experience of those in the Middle Ages who took the appearance of new Messiahs in all earnestness.[86]

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[76] Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 182, 385; Latte, *RRG* 308; H. Pleket, "An Aspect of the Emperor Cult: Imperial Mysteries", *HThR* 58 (1965), 331-347 at 333.

[77] *CAH* 10, 481; cf. *id.*, "Julian" (above, note 20) 115 (= *Essays* 833). For votive offerings in Greek and Roman practice see van Straten (above, Intr. III; note 5) 69 ff.; 78 ff.

[78] The Egyptian material presents a different picture: see above, pp. 38 f.; further Nock, "Julian" throughout; R. MacMullen, *Roman Government's Response to Crisis, A.D. 235-337*, New Haven and London, 1976, 35 f. On the term ἐπήκοος attributed to Caracalla or Elagabalus at Aegina see H. S. Versnel, "Religious Mentality in Ancient Prayer" in Versnel, *Faith, Hope and Worship* (above, Intr. III; note 5) 1-64 at 36 f.

[79] "Heerserkultus" 153.

[80] W. den Boer, "Heersercultus en ex-voto's en het Romeinse Keizerrijk", *Mededelingen der koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde* 36, 4 (1973), 99-115 at 104 ff.; cf. *id.*, "Les historiens des religions et leurs dogmes" in W. den Boer (ed.), *Les Etudes Classiques aux XIX*^{e} *et XX*^{e} *Siècles: Leur Place dans l'Histoire des Idées* (Entretiens Fondation Hardt 26), Geneva, 1980, 1-44 at 36 ff. More practical reasons for the absence of "ex voto's" seem less convincing—the fact, for instance, that the deity who receives the gift is often not named or that the votive offering tended to become an advertisement of the offerer, an idea unacceptable to a monarch. "Ex voto's" are simply not to be expected in the ruler cult, for the reasons den Boer gives.

What all this suggests is that the cult of the ruler could on occasion have elements in common with the modern conception of true religiosity, with its Christian perspective. If worship is to be limited to the mediation of graces in a supernatural way, then the term is obviously inappropriate within the context of *Gottmenschentum*. But on a wider definition than that of Nock one might speak broadly of worshipping the ruler, particularly in an age when, as we have seen, the line between homage and worship was much less sharp than it is today. In the final analysis the question reduces to a matter of definition or, if you like, taste.[87] The "divinity" of the ruler is clearly the appropriate usage, but there seems no overwhelming objection to describing the performance of his cult as worship. The customary use of the word in that connection can therefore be allowed to stand and the practice properly called a religion.

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[81] "There were no doubt moments of intense emotion": Nock, "Julian" 121 (= *Essays* 843).

[82] See the analysis of W. den Boer, *Mnemosyne* 11 (1958), 271, quoting E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley, 1951, 242, 259; further Will (above, Intr. I; note 9) 84 f.

[83] den Boer, "Ex-voto's" (above, note 80) 100 f. See further Addenda, p. 187.

[84] Hopkins, *Conquerors* 197-200.

[85] O. Weinreich, *Menekrates-Zeus und Salmoneus, Religionsgeschichtlichte Studien zur Psychopathologie des Gottmenschentums in Antike und Neuzeit* (Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 18), Stuttgart, 1933; Eitrem, "Zur Apotheose" (above, Intr. III; note 66) 38 f.; Nilsson, *GGR*³2, 138; Fredricksmeyer, "Divine Honors" (above, Intr. II; note 12) 43 f: "Background" (above, Intr. I; note 9) 153 f; Badian, "Deification", (above, Intr. I; note 9) 32, n. 11

[86] "Heerserkultus" 151.

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[87] Versnel, *o.c.* 152: "een kwestie van smaak".

V. ROME AND THE RULER CULT

By the time the Romans first stepped into the Hellenistic World of the eastern Mediterranean the custom of paying *isotheoi timai* as an expression of homage and gratitude for services rendered had long been in place. It is hardly surprising, then, to find the representatives of Roman power, particularly the holders of special grants of *imperium*, treated in much the same way as Hellenistic rulers and accorded altars, temples, sacrifices, priests and games—especially by the Greek cities of Asia Minor (cf. Suet., *Aug*. 52, 1). Given that divine honours were a conventional way of showing the proper attitude to those who were looked upon as deliverers, the worship of powerful Romans might be seen as formally, at least, a continuation of the cult of the *euergetes*. But the system was also an integral part of traditional diplomacy, and it can be safely assumed that in most cases the impetus will have come from the pro-Roman aristocracy that was concerned with maintaining good relations with the new colossus in the West.[1] This is an aspect of ruler worship that applies *a fortiori* to the closely related cults of Θεὰ ῾Ρώμη (below, p. 49).

1. *Roman* Gottmenschen

The earliest Roman recipient of divine honours[2] would appear to have been C. Marcellus, whose festival was established at Syracuse following the capture of the city from the Carthaginians; the *Marcellia* were eventually abolished by Verres, who substituted games of his own (Cic., *Verr*. 4, 67, cf. 2, 51; Plut., *Marcellus* 23, 7). In the East the first Roman to be given a permanent cult was Titus Quinctius Flamininus, whose liberation of Greece earned him the adulation of the Greeks.[3] Plutarch, who emphasizes the sincerity of the astonishing good will towards Flamininus (*Flam*. 17, 1), records that Chalcis voted him divine honours in 191 B.C. and linked his name with those of Hercules and Apollo in dedications. A priest of Titus continued to be appointed down to Plutarch's time and we are told that after sacrifices and libations in his honour, a hymn of praise was sung; its closing lines show that Titus was hailed as *soter* and honoured personally alongside Zeus, Roma, the Pistis of the Romans[4] and Apollo (*ibid*. 16, 3-4). Similar cults are recorded at Corinth,

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[1] G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford, 1965, 113.

[2] For lists of such honours to Romans see Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 178-180; Cerfaux-Tondriau 279-282; C. J. Classen, "Gottmenschentum in der römischen Republik", *Gymnasium* 70 (1963), 312-338 at 337 f.; Weinstock, *DJ* 288 f.; Habicht, "Augusteische Zeit" (above, Intr. III; note 7) 61 f.; Tuchelt, *Denkmäler* (above, Intr. III; note 10) 105-107. See further Addenda, p. 187.

[3] *RE* 24 (1963) 1047-1100 (no. 45), especially 1075 f. (Gundel).

[4] See G. Vitucci, "Alle origini del culto della dea Roma", *C & S* 65 (1978), 71-74; further R. J. Mellor, "The Goddess Roma", *ANRW* 2, 17, 2 (1981) 950-1030 at 961 f.

Argos and Gytheum and he was the first to have his portrait on gold coins issued by a Greek city.[5] The cult of Flamininus is the prototype of what was later offered in varying degree to one Roman administrator or general after another. Among notable instances are the priest of Manius Aquilius at Pergamum, the annual *agon* of M. Annius at Lete in Macedonia, the *Soteria* and *Moukieia* of Q. Mucius Scaevola in Asia, the *dies festi* and *ludi* of L. Valerius Flaccus, the *Luculleia* of Lucullus, the temple (?) of Appius Claudius Pulcher in Cilicia, the priests of L. Munatius Plancus and M. Iunius Silanus at Mylasa and Chalcis respectively, the *Sminthia Paulleia* of Paullus Fabius Maximus in Asia.[6] On the other hand Cicero and his brother Quintus refused the temple and monument that the cities of Asia wished to raise to them in 60 and, as proconsul of Cilicia in 50, Cicero likewise declined the statues, shrines and chariots offered him by the provincials.[7] Similar 'refusal' of divine honours continued to be the official attitude of most Roman emperors under the principate.[8]

The great figures of the Roman Revolution were naturally the principal beneficiaries of the standard Hellenistic response to the *Gottmensch*. After Sulla sacked Athens in 86 a cult was instituted in his honour with games (*Syllaia*) and sacrifices: the reason it lasted only a few years was that it was simply a creation of the local oligarchy, whom he had reinstated in power; in contrast the cult of Flamininus lasted three centuries.[9] Pompey was called *soter*, *euergetes* and *ktistes* in Mytilene and a month named after him, while Pompeiopolis, which he restored in Cilicia, began an era in his honour and Delos produced an association of *Pompeiastai*.[10] After Caesar's victory at Pharsalus honours of every kind were showered on him throughout the East.[11] What is immediately noticeable is that as soon as there was a single ruler in the

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[5] H. Zehnacker, *Moneta. Recherches sur l'Organisation et l'Art des Émissions monétaires de la République romaine (289-31 B.C.)* (BEFAR 222), Rome, 1973, 2, 974-977; M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge, 1974, 544, no. 548. A gold stater, apparently struck in Greece, has the bust of Flamininus on the obverse; on the reverse Victory with laurel branch and wreath crowns the name T. Quinctius in the field. Not only is this the only known coin portrait of a living Roman before Caesar but here Victory is linked with an individual Roman commander as it was with Hellenistic monarchs. For the significance of this and its relevance to other honours paid to Flamininus see Fears, "Theology of Victory" (above Intr. IV; note 56) 780; further below, "*Roma et Augustus*", below, pp. 113-115.

[6] For the cult of P. Servilius Isauricus in Ephesus see below, p. 50.

[7] Weinstock, *DJ* 289, cf. 55 with n. 5. But see Fears, "Cult of Virtues" (above, Intr. III; note 43) 876 f., noting *ad* Cic., *Q. fr* 1, 1, 31 that the cult of a Roman magistrate's virtues by a Greek city offered a mutually acceptable compromise.

[8] See "The Theology of the Roman Emperor", below, Vol. IV; further Addenda, p. 187.

[9] Bowersock, *Augustus* (above, note 1) *ibid.*

[10] Cerfaux-Tondriau 284 f. with refs. For inscribed bases of statues to Roman promagistrates (calling them *soter*, *euergetes*, etc.) see Tuchelt, *Denkmäler* 57-66 with chronological list following p. 249. For bronze and marble statues to them see *ibid.*, 68-89.

[11] Taylor, *Divinity* 267-269; A. E. Raubitschek, "Epigraphical Notes on Julius Caesar", *JRS* 44 (1954), 65-75; Weinstock, *DJ* 296 f.

East, the epithet θεός becomes more frequent—for example at Lesbos, Mytilene, Demetrias and Carthaea on Ceos. The titles *soter* and *euergetes*, occasionally *ktistes*, are accorded by various cities in Greece and Asia, but the most striking description of Caesar is that given by the province of Asia—τὸν ἀπὸ Ἄρεως καὶ Ἀφροδίτης θεὸν ἐπιφανῆ καὶ κοινὸν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου σωτῆρα (*SIG*^{3} 760)—which puts Caesar unmistakably in the tradition of Hellenistic kings. New levels of cult are particularly apparent in the case of Anthony after the victory of Philippi.[12] Ephesus, for example, celebrated him as the epiphany of Dionysus on his famous entry into the city, acclaiming him as Dionysos Charidotes and Meilichios (Plut., *Ant.* 24, 4). Anthony played the same role along with his wife Octavia on *cistophori*, struck in Asia in 39, and above all at Athens, where the Panathenaia was renamed *Antonaia* and dedicated to him as θεὸς νέος Διόνυσος; here the two were welcomed like a Hellenistic Royal Pair as θεοὶ εὐεργέται. In Samos the guild of Dionysiac craftsmen celebrated the New Dionysus just a year before Actium. There is ample evidence in all this that fundamental aspects of the Hellenistic god-king were now being assumed by Romans[13]; in a sense Anthony is the last of the Hellenistic monarchs. The scene was set for the entry of Octavian, under whom the *Herrscherkult* of Romans in the East would be transformed into a dynastic *Königskult* of the Roman emperor.

Habicht has pointed out that, once a permanent monarchy was established, there was no longer any motive for the cult of individual Roman administrators or generals.[14] Now that the *princeps* was in the role of a Hellenistic king it was natural that the cities should henceforth pay cult only to the emperor and his house. Notwithstanding the limited ban imposed by Augustus in 11 A.D., there was really no need to prohibit such forms of honour to proconsuls, who out of loyalty or self-interest readily acquiesced in the emphasis on the central figure of the emperor. The last we hear of this kind of cult is that accorded C. Marcius Censorinus, who as proconsul of Asia in 2-3 A.D. was honoured as *soter* and *euergetes* at Mylasa, where *Kensorinea* were celebrated after his death.[15]

2. *Dea Roma*

In the hymn to Flamininus one of the deities the Chalcidians celebrate alongside him is the goddess ‘Ρώμη, in whose honour the revived κοινόν of

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[12] Taylor, *o.c.* 108 f., 121 f., 138, 269; Cerfaux-Tondriau 295-306; Wlosok, "Einführung" in *Kaiserkult* (above, Intr. II; note 18) 6 with refs. See now F. Chamoux, *Marc Antoine*, Paris, 1986, 234 ff.

[13] Nilsson, *GGR*^{3}2, 179 f., noting an Antonine tribe at Prusias and the expression τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θεόν used of Anthony at Alexandria in 34 B.C. (*IGRR* I, 1054!)

[14] "Augusteische Zeit" (above, Intr. III; note 7) 47-49.

[15] Cerfaux-Tondriau 279. See further below, "*Roma et Augustus*", p. 130 with note 231.

Euboea had recently instituted the festival of the *Romaia* at Chalcis.[16] This particular deity appears a year or so earlier in Smyrna, where in 195 the inhabitants founded a temple of Roma at the time they appealed to Rome for help against Antiochus III; the political motive is barely concealed in the boast of the Smyrnaeans to Rome recorded by Tacitus (*Ann.* 4, 56).[17] About the same time the cult of Roma began at Rhodes and in cities within her orbit,[18] while festivals of Roma were founded by the Delphians and Lycians in 189[19] and at Chios probably in the early second century.[20] Thereafter her worship arose elsewhere in the Greek east as Rome pushed eastwards following the defeat of Antiochus and his Aetolian allies.[21] A precise date is seldom in evidence but most of the cults we know of seem to be relatively early, for example that at Aphrodisias.[22] Though circumstances differed from place to place, the goddess is found throughout the Aegean world, particularly in areas where similar honours had been paid to Hellenistic kings. The evidence has been collected and analyzed by R. Mellor, whose picture is substantially in agreement with that of the parallel work of C. Fayer.[23] In general the appearance of Roma seems directly related to diplomatic contacts with the Republic and her worship is attested significantly more frequently than the cults of individual Romans.

The deity to whom the Smyrnaeans erected their temple seems in origin to have been an eponymous figure invented by the Western Greeks to explain the name of Rome; though even in legend Rhomé played only an indirect role in founding the city on the Tiber.[24] On Mellor's analysis she was not yet a goddess nor even a symbol of the Roman people and it was the Greeks of the Hellenistic period who first transformed her into a deified personification of the Roman Republic.[25] As such,[26] she is parallel to the goddess Rhodos, though whether the cult of Rhodos provided the actual model for that of Roma is less important than the basic point that the worship of either was a democratic extension or by-product of the Hellenistic cult of the ruler, adapted to the requirements of an autonomous city-state.[27] Precisely the same motives inspired the deification and worship of Roma as did that of a human monarch, and, as the embodiment of the *res publica Romana*, she reflected the popular Greek conception of Roma as a traditional Hellenistic Kingdom. Roma is best though of, therefore, as like a Hellenistic ruler in a new guise and her worship a way of keeping on good terms with the Romans, a vehicle of diplomacy on established lines. In consequence one finds Roma given altars, temples, priests, sacrifices, festivals, epithets, hymns and months—in practice the full range of *isotheoi timai.* The difference is, of course, that Roma was not a ruler but a deity, who might be powerful to aid in a supernatural way.

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[16] Mellor, ΡΩΜΗ (above, Intr. III; note 7) 99; *id.*, "Goddess Roma" (above, note 4) 958. See further Vitucci, "Origini" (above, note 4).

[17] Mellor, ΡΩΜΗ 14-16; cf. M. Fuhrmann, "Die Romidee der Spätantike', *HZ* 207 (1968), 529-561. Cults of Roma may well have existed earlier, cf. C. P. Jones, *Phoenix* 31 (1977), 77-81.

[18] Mellor, ΡΩΜΗ 27-36.

[19] Mellor, ΡΩΜΗ 37 f.; "Goddess Roma" *ibid.* with n. 36.

[20] *Bull. Epig.* (1980) no. 353; (1981) no. 364; cf. *JRS* 71 (1981), 134, n. 191. See now P. S. Derow and W. G. Forrest, "An Inscription from Chios", *ABSA* 77 (1982), 79-91; further Addenda, p. 187. For the Romaia of Cyme (second century B.C.) see H. Malay, *EA* 2 (1983), 1-20.

[21] Nilsson, *GGR*³2, 177. For monuments of the cult of Roma in Asia Minor see now Tuchelt, *Denkmäler* (above, Intr. III; note 10) 21-44.

[22] J. M. Reynolds, "The Origins and Beginning of Imperial Cult at Aphrodisias", *PCPS* 206 (N.S. 26) (1980), 70-84 at 70, n. 5; *eadem*, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (*JRS* Monograph 1), London, 1982, doc. 30, pp. 153 f.; cf. Mellor, ΡΩΜΗ 49 f. with n. 142.

[23] *Il Culto della Dea Roma. Origine e diffusione nell'Impero*, Pescara, 1976, 31-103; cf. R. Turcan, *Latomus* 38 (1979), 303 f. See now the pertinent remarks of Wardman, *Religion and Statecraft* (above, Intr. II; note 5) 50 f.

[24] Mellor, ΡΩΜΗ 17-20; "Goddess Roma" 954-956, cf. 957, noting that Roma cannot be treated as a manifestation of the τύχη τῆς πόλεως; cf. S. MacCormack, "Roma, Constantinopolis, the Emperor and his Genius", *CQ* 25 (1975), 131-150 at 140. See in general A. Alföldi, *Die troianischen Urahnen der Römer*, Basel, 1956, with S. Weinstock, *JRS* 49 (1959), 170 f.; further Jones (above, note 17) 78.

It follows that Dea Roma played a central role in preparing the way for the system devised by Augustus: the worship of the personification of the Republic provided a bridge between the cult of the Hellenistic ruler and the Roman imperial cult. Significantly, there are precedents already in the Republican period for the later union of Roma with Augustus, in particular at Ephesus, where P. Servilius Isauricus, the enemy of the *publicani*, was honoured on account of his administration of Asia in 46-44, earning the title of "*Soter* and *Euergetes*" at Pergamum; here the cult was joined with that of Dea Roma, which already existed in the city, and a priest is still attested under the empire.[28] Conceivably it was this combination of the cult of a personal representative of the Roman state with that of its deified abstraction which was at the back of Octavian's mind in 30/29.[29] One may compare the similar circumstance on Lesbos, where Mytilene decreed cultic honours to Caesar and Ῥώμη Νικηφόρος in 45.[30] Yet once Rome had taken over the Greek world, it was inevitably the emperor who took the centre of the stage and Roma became essentially superfluous. This explains why her cult faltered in the East after the death of Augustus and why the literary authorities mostly overlook her inclusion. In the West Roma seems to have had limited impact though her name is duly included in priestly titles at Lugdunum and elsewhere down to the third century A.D.

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[25] In Republican literature Roma seems to have been originally an uncommon term and to have retained a geographical rather than collective sense outside of poetic usage; so U. Knoche, "Die augusteische Ausprägung der Dea Roma", *Gymnasium* 59 (1952), 324-349. Some numismatists have nevertheless recognised Roma in a helmeted female head that appears on bronze and silver coin issues from the third century onward. The view has recently been revived, notably by M. H. Crawford, *RRC* (above, note 5) 2, 721-725 with bibl.; cf. Zehnacker, *Moneta* (above, Intr. IV; note 5) 1, 335-338; further Fears, "Theology of Victory" (above, Intr. IV; note 56) 775-778. For a sober reply see Mellor, "Goddess Roma" 974 f. Note that Weinstock, *DJ* 93-96, cf. 42 f., supposes a Greek model for what he takes to be Roma on Roman coins of the second and last centuries B.C. For portraits of Roma see above all the Greek coinage: C. Fayer, "La 'dea Roma' sulle monete greche", *StudRom* (1975), 273-288; Mellor, "Goddess Roma" 961-964; McCormack (above, note 24) *ibid.*

[26] Despite iconographic similarities, it is difficult to see how such a Hellenistic goddess can have a Roman counterpart in the collective Genius populi Romani, which is of very different origin. So rightly Mellor, "Goddess Roma" 1027; *contra* Weinstock, *DJ* 206, cf. 96. The Greek analogue to the Roman cult of Genius publicus/Genius Populi Romani is rather the worship of the Demos of the city at Athens, Rhodes and elsewhere; see J. R. Fears, "Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ Ο ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ GENIUS POPULI ROMANI: A Note on the Origins of Dea Roma", *Mnemosyne* 31 (1978), 274-286; cf. *id.*, *Gnomon* 50 (1978), 459 f. The similar cults of the Demos of the Romans are, like those of Roma, a symptom of spreading Roman control. See further C. Fayer, "Il culto del Demos dei Romani. Un aspetto del culto tributato al potere romano nel mondo greco d'Oriente", *StudRom* 26 (1978), 461-477; cf. Jones (above, note 17) 79; Addenda p. 187.

[27] So Mellor, "Goddess Roma" 958; cf. Nilsson, *l. c.* (above, note 21), cf. 181; Mellor, ΡΩΜΗ 20-26. The same point applies to the cult of the Demos.

3. *Republican Rome*

The honours accorded Dea Roma or the administrators and generals of Rome in the East were intrinsically Greek; at no stage can they be ascribed to Roman influences. The critical question that arises is at what stage did such ideas begin to take root in the Republic itself. The religious traditions of the Roman people differed in significant ways from those of the Greeks: more particularly, there seem to be few traces of a Roman hero-cult of outstanding men after their death on the Greek model.[31] It is true that a son called his deceased father a god at the moment he found the first bone at a cremation, but the Roman cult of ancestors—the *divi parentes* or *di manes*—concerned a collectivity not an individual; the Parentalia was a collective festival and the Di Manes were the dead of the community as a whole.[32] Nor again do we have any secure evidence for the cult at Rome of an ἀρχηγέτης of the Roman people[33] or even of Romulus as *ktistes*, though the Greek cult of founders might suggest it by analogy and divine founders are certainly addressed in an oath of 91 B.C.[34] Nearby Lavinium, Aeneas, whose cult as ἥρως is attested at several centres in the Greek world, apparently had a shrine on the river Numicius, into which he was said to have disappeared.[35] The cult dates from

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[28] F. Münzer, *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien*, Stuttgart, 1920, 356 f.; Nilsson, *GGR*³2, 179; Cerfaux-Tondriau 280; Bowersock, *Augustus* (above, note 1) 150; Habicht, "Augusteische Zeit" 62; Mellor, ΡΩΜΗ 58, 218 (no. 128); Fayer, *Dea Roma* (above, note 23) 91 f; cf. the earlier association of Roma with Flamininus at Chalcis.

[29] See "*Roma et Augustus*", below, pp. 126-130; further *RE* Suppl. 12 (1970) 261, 281 (Knibbe).

[30] Mellor, "Goddess Roma" 976. For Potamon, the leader of the embassy to Caesar, see further "The Altar of Augustus at Tarraco", Appendix I, below, p. 172.

[31] B. Liou-Gille, *Cultes 'héroiques' romains. Les Fondateurs*, Paris, 1980, 8-13; *eadem, Cultes "héroiques" romains* (in press).

[32] Wissowa, *RuKR*² 232-240; Latte, *RRG* 98; Weinstock *DJ* 291 with n. 6.

[33] Wlosock, "Einführung" in *Kaiserkult* (above, Intr. II; note 18) 16.

[34] Weinstock, *DJ* 176 f. with n. 4, citing Diod. 37, 11.

[35] Weinstock, *o.c.* 10, 19, 292; R. M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy Books 1-5*, Oxford, 1965, 41. Evidence for the cult of Aeneas at Lavinium is collected by Liou-Gille (above, note 31)

ca. 338 B.C. and was directed to him as Iuppiter Indiges, though we have literary evidence for two further names: Indiges Pater and Aeneas Indiges.[36] It is also possible that this posthumous cult of the deified Aeneas spread five miles inland to Tor Tignosa, where an archaic dedication has been thought to attest the name Lar Aineias. Weinstock holds that, apart from strengthening the antiquarian tradition, this text closely links Lar with Indiges in the sense of divine ancestor,[37] but the reading of the lettering is very uncertain and most recent attempts at decipherment have excluded any reference whatsoever to Aeneas.[38] What we do find at Rome is a state cult of the Genius Publicus, the first references to which occur in 218/17—precisely the time when Greek influences upon the Roman state cult were particularly strong. J. R. Fears points out that with the institution of this cult the Romans began to worship the equivalent of the Demos of the Athenians or the Tyche of the city at Antioch: in other words the Genius Publicus—later Genius Populi Romani—provided a traditional concept by which the Romans could absorb from the Hellenistic world an idea and a practice fundamental to Hellenistic state-craft.[39] In that case by the end of the third century the Romans will already have had a form of the ruler cult in which the state was substituted for the monarchy. We have seen that the Hellenistic Greeks took another route and created soon afterwards a goddess to represent the Republic. Though he was discreet about it, this idea was later taken over by Augustus, in whose hands Dea Roma became the embodiment of imperial Rome.[40] He showed similar discretion in not creating a state cult of the Genius Augusti, which might have appeared as too obviously a Roman version of the Hellenistic cult of the ruler.[41]

86-99. For the Aeneas legend and the archaeological evidence from Lavinium see now G. Dury-Moyaers, *Énée et Lavinium: à propos des découvertes archéologiques récentes* (Coll. Latomus 174), Brussels, 1981, with N. Horsfall, *JRS* 73 (1983), 204 f; R. Schilling, "Les découvertes de Lavinium," *PP* 36 (1981), 85. See further Addenda, pp. 185, 189.

[36] Weinstock, *o.c.* 10, n. 6; *id.*, "Two Archaic Inscriptions from Latium", *JRS* 50 (1960), 112-118 at 117, n. 58. See also an *elogium* at Pompeii in which Aeneas has the title Indigens (*sic*) Pater (*CIL* 10, 808 = *ILS* 63; cf. Degrassi, *InscrIt* 13, 3, p. 69, n. 85).

[37] Above, note 36, (1960) 117, n. 59 citing *Schol. Bern. Georg.* 1, 498. For Indiges in the sense of "ever invoked" see now R. Schilling, "Le culte de l'Indiges à Lavinium", *REL* 57 (1979), 49-68.

[38] Weinstock, *ibid.* accepts Guarducci's original reading *Lare Aineia d.*; so also G. K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome*, Princeton, 1969, 158. *Contra* H. G. Kolbe, "Lare Aineia?," *MDAI(R)* 77 (1970), 1-9, reading *Lare Vẹsuia Q(uinti) f(ilia)* (= *AEpig*, 1969-70, no. 2). For further discussion see M. Guarducci, "Enea e Vesta," *MDAI(R)* 78 (1971), 73-89; R. E. A. Palmer, *Roman Religion and Roman Empire. Five Essays*, Philadelphia, 1974, 114 f., cf. 79, reading *Lare(bus) Vesu(v)ia Q(uinti) f(ilia)*. For an extensive bibliographical review of the problem see F. Bömer and P. Herz, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom*^{2}, Wiesbaden, 1981, 205 f. (zu S. 56).

[39] *O.c.* (above, note 26). See now *id.*, "Cult of Virtues" (above Intr. III; note 43) 851-3.

[40] See below "*Roma et Augustus*", p. 127.

[41] See "Augustus and the West", below, pp. 84 f.

As for apotheosis in Rome, Classen has argued that deification of a man, whether deceased or living, is basically foreign to the religious climate of the Republic.[42] Even so, a trace of posthumous worship may exist here and there. Few will accept Weinstock's suggestion that behind the god Minucius with his altar or shrine there could lurk the early historical figure of L. Minucius Augurinus, *praefectus annonae* in 439, to whom the people gratefully erected a statue on a column at the Porta Trigemina.[43] But it is possible that the Claudii Marcelli paid cult to M. Marcellus after his death in 148 B.C.; which would correspond to the expectation of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, that she would be posthumously honoured as *deus parens.*[44] The cult we know most about is that of her two sons, Tiberius and Gaius.[45] Plutarch records that the places where they had been slain were consecrated by the people, who set up their statues in a conspicuous position and brought offerings there, many making sacrifices and prostrating themselves before the statues every day, just as they did at the shrines of the gods (*C. Gracch.* 18, 2). Alföldi has suggested that their statues may well have been displayed at the *compita* as in the later case of Marius Gratidianus (below, p. 54).[46] At all events the cult of the Gracchi is a clear example of spontaneous offerings on account of benefactions, though how far this might be due more to Greek than Roman influences among the little people of Rome remains very uncertain.

The key figure for present purposes is that of Romulus, who on Ennius' account was assumed into heaven, where he had his place among the other gods and took the name of the early Roman deity Quirinus.[47] The tale is often taken to be an isolated literary invention on the part of Ennius, influenced by Greek ideas, and hence of no evidential value. On the majority view the apotheosis of Romulus and his official identification with Quirinus are no earlier than about 60 B.C. and attributable to the initiative of Caesar as *pontifex maximus.*[48] Against this Weinstock argues convincingly that the tradition must have existed long before Ennius,[49] though the analogy he draws with the deified Aeneas, who was said to have ascended into heaven with Romulus (Serv. *Aen.* 6, 777), may no longer be supportable by reference to the Latium inscription (above, p. 52); Cicero at any rate was well aware of the story in 63

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[42] "Gottmenschentum" (above, note 2).

[43] Weinstock, *DJ* 293 f.

[44] *Ibid.* 295.

[45] Classen 323 f. with refs; Wardman, *Religion and Statecraft* (above, Intr. II; note 5) 51.

[46] A. Alföldi, *Die zwei Lorbeerbaüme des Augustus* (Antiquitas 14), Bonn, 1973, 24.

[47] For Quirinus see now G. Radke, "Quirinus. Eine kritische Überprufung der Überlieferung und ein Versuch", *ANRW* 2, 17, 1 (1981) 276-299; D. Porte, "Romulus-Quirinus, prince et dieu, dieu des princes", *ANRW* 2, 17, 1 (1981) 300-342.

[48] Wlosock, "Einführung" in *Kaiserkult* (above, Intr. II; note 18) 17 f. with bibl.; add Porte, "Romulus-Quirinus" (above, note 47) 333 ff. *Contra* Weinstock, *DJ*, 176 f.

[49] *Ibid.*; cf. *id.*, above, note 36, (1960) 118. See further the discussion of Liou-Gille (above, note 31) 135-207.

B.C. (*Cat.* 3, 2).[50] Whatever the precise development may have been, the important point is that by the middle of the first century at the latest, the Romans had in Romulus-Quirinus an example of apotheosis on the basis of meritorious achievements—in this case founding and preserving the state.[51] The notion must be set in the context of Greek philosophical ideas infiltrating into cultivated circles in Rome: Euhemerism, for example, familiar to Romans from Ennius' translation of the novel of Euhemerus in which the gods are exposed as divinized supermen, but also Stoic and Pythagorean doctrines of the immortality achievable by distinguished men of virtue.[52] The concept, which is fundamental to the later deification process of Roman emperors, is best expressed in Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis: omnibus, qui patriam conservaverint, adiuverint, auxerint, certum esse in caelo definitum locum, ubi beati aevo sempiterno fruantur* (*Rep.* 6, 13). Cicero himself planned, in his grief, to build a *fanum* for his daughter Tullia as testimony to the apotheosis he believed she achieved after death;[53] though when it suited him he could approve of the Epicurean argument that no one who had been a man could become immortal.[54]

Honours for the living present much the same picture. None are known to have been officially decreed before Caesar's victory over Pompey, not unless one is to accept a public cult of Scipio;[55] but acts of homage and tokens of thanks to individuals could evidently find spontaneous expression especially among the humbler people. Thus C. Marius was hailed as the third founder of Rome after conquering the Cimbri at Vercellae in 101 B.C.;[56] making merry at home with their wives and children, all the people made offerings of food and libations of wine to the gods and also to Marius (Plut., *Mar.* 27, 5). Similarly M. Marius Gratidianus, praetor in 85 B.C., was honoured with statues in all the *vici* of Rome and supplications of incense and wine (Seneca, *De ira* 3, 18, 1).[57] This sounds like a traditional practice that may therefore have also applied in the case of the Gracchi;[58] certainly it lay behind the cult of the Lares

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[50] See further Radke, "Quirinus" (above, note 47) 293. Weinstock (above, note 34) is surely right that the divine founders in the oath of 91 B.C. must be Aeneas and Romulus.

[51] For the significance of the corresponding titles *conditor*, *servator*, *parens patriae* see A. Alföldi, *Der Vater des Vaterlandes im römischen Denken*, Darmstadt, 1978, *passim*; Weinstock, *DJ* 200-205.

[52] Taylor, *Divinity* 42, 52 f.; Cerfaux-Tondriau 306 f.; den Boer (ed.) *Le Culte* 92 (Beaujeu). See in general R. Schilling, "La déification à Rome. Tradition latine et interférence grecque" in *Studi pubblicati in Memoria di Angelo Brelich*: *R & C* 3 (1982), 559-575.

[53] E. Bickerman, "Consecratio" in den Boer (ed.), "Le Culte" 3-25 at 18; cf. Taylor, *Divinity* 52, n. 54 with refs.

[54] Weinstock, *DJ* 290 f. with refs.

[55] So Weinstock, *DJ* 294 f., cf. 36, 110, 185, 302. *Contra*, Nock "Synnaos" (above, Intr. I; note 6) 1, n. 1; Classen, "Gottmenschentum", 320 f. For Scipio see in general F. Walbank, "The Scipionic Legend", *PCPS* 13 (1967), 54-69.

[56] Weinstock, *DJ* 295, n. 4 with bibl. See further "*Genius* and *Numen*", below, Vol. II.

[57] Classen, "Gottmenschentum" 326 f.; Weinstock, *ibid.* with n. 7.

[58] Above, note 46.

Augusti which Augustus established at the Compitalia[59] and it is an interesting speculation that in so doing he may simply have been regulating what had already taken place spontaneously. On the other hand the unusual honours with which Roman citizens in Spain received Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius in 74 after he suppressed a rising in Lusitania were evidently a concoction of different ceremonies, elements of a Roman triumph blended with Greek ritual appropriate to an epiphany.[60]

The conclusion to be drawn is that in the late Republic people from various strata of society were ready to honour their favourites and benefactors in ways that brought them into closer relationship with the gods. Exceptional ability or success made an impression and men were receptive to the idea that an individual could be under divine protection or divinely inspired. One must also reckon with the circumstance that in the course of the last century B.C. there was a steady influx into Rome and Italy of people from the eastern half of the empire, most of them presumably attuned to Greek ideas of deification. At the literary level, too, it is usually supposed that Greek influences account for such expressions of divinity as when a patron, a saviour or a teacher is called a god.[61] Conversely, the great men of the period were interested in encouraging the trend and hence tried to represent themselves as favoured by the gods. The best example is Sulla, who claimed a special relationship with various deities and took the name *felix* to reflect the divinely granted *felicitas* he enjoyed.[62] So far, however, the influence of Greek ideas on educated men was limited to theoretical formulations that could be retracted when necessary, as frequently in the case of Cicero, for example; concrete action in the shape of formal divine honours for men had yet to be taken. It was when such a process was initiated and went too far too quickly that disaster ensued. This is the background to Caesar's failure and it was only as a result of the cautious moderation of Augustus that some forms of Hellenistic ritual became finally acceptable in Rome.

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[59] See "Augustus and the West", below, p. 85.

[60] Weinstock, *DJ* 296.

[61] *Ibid.* 292 f.

[62] J. P. V. D. Balsdon, "Sulla Felix", *JRS* 41 (1951), 1-10; Cerfaux-Tondriau 283 f. See now I. Kajanto, "Fortuna", *ANRW* 2, 17, 1 (1981) 502-558 at 522-524; Fears, "Theology of Victory" (above, Intr. IV; note 56) 791-796. See further below, "*Roma et Augustus*", p. 114.

VI. DIVUS IULIUS

The later career of Julius Caesar is of crucial significance in that he was the first leader of the Roman state to be awarded divine honours by the senate, a step that points to a fundamental change of direction in Roman politics. These honours belong to the period after Caesar's victories at Thapsus (6th April, 46) and at Munda (17th March, 45), above all to the early months of 44 when he was *de facto* sole ruler. The meaning and interpretation of what was decreed is very much debated, as also is Caesar's own attitude to it all. In particular there is the question of whether Caesar was or was not officially deified at the very end of his life, a problem closely related to that of the position he intended for himself in the state—if, indeed, his plans were so far advanced.[1]

That Caesar could actively promote the cult offered him spontaneously in the East can be seen at Alexandria, Antioch and elsewhere, where he built *Caesarea.*[2] In Rome itself his person was already sacralized by the pontificate he had held since 73 and by the life-long position of *pontifex maximus* which he received in 63; in making him the mediator between his fellow-citizens and the state-gods, the office conferred great prestige and paved the way for divine honours.[3] With the addition of the augurate in 47 after Pharsalus Caesar began to accumulate priesthoods, a model that was to be copied by Augustus and later emperors. His status was enhanced further by a claim to divine descent from Venus through Aeneas of Troy; the connection was asserted in the funeral oration he spoke over his aunt Julia in 68 and emphasized more dramatically by elaborate plans for a temple of Venus Genetrix at the centre of the new Forum Iulium.[4] There was also a more dubious claim to be descended from Mars through the Alban kings, though that was less easy to justify. In any event the times and public sentiment were now ripe for the conferral of divine honours. Already in 49 Caesar had been welcomed like a god by Italian *municipia* and inscriptions show that private persons in his debt could even call him a god.[5]

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[1] For a useful outline of the vast scholarship on Caesar see H. Gesche, *Caesar* (Erträge der Forschung, 51), Darmstadt, 1976, especially 154-172.

[2] Weinstock, *DJ* 297-299, noting that he was received at Alexandria as Caesar Epibaterios. See further Addenda, p. 187.

[3] Taylor, *Divinity* 59 f.; J. Bayet, "Prodromes sacerdotaux de la divinisation impériale" in *La Regalita Sacrà*, Leiden, 1959, 418-434 at 421 ff.; Weinstock, *DJ* 28-34, noting that Caesar had avoided succeeding to the post of *flamen Dialis*, for which he had been designated at the age of thirteen.

[4] *DJ* 17 f., 80-90. See further "Augustus and the West" below, p. 87.

[5] *DJ* 300 with nn. 6 f.

If we omit the white horses at his triumph in 46 as unlikely to have had any connotation of divinity,[6] the first *isotheoi timai* to be granted Caesar were decreed in the aftermath of Thapsus: a chariot set on the Capitol facing Jupiter, along with a bronze statue of Caesar that was associated in some way with a globe of the world and bore an epigraph;[7] also a proposal (never in fact carried out; cf. Tac. *Hist.* 3, 72, 3) to replace the name of Catulus in the dedicatory inscription on the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus with that of Caesar, as though he had completed the temple.[8] Weinstock has convincingly shown that there must have been two statuary pieces on the Capitol—an empty *quadriga* and a statue with a globe—and proposes a globe beside the standing figure of Caesar; Alföldi suggests Caesar had his right foot on the globe.[9] It is in any case clear that Caesar was portrayed as master of the world in the tradition of Alexander and likely enough that the entire symbolism was borrowed from the Hellenistic world, very possibly from the picture at Athens of Demetrius Poliorcetes seated(?) on a globe.[10] But the inscription raises problems. Dio has usually been taken to mean that Caesar was called ἡμίθεος[11] or some Latin equivalent, but it seems preferable to hold that Caesar was given not an epiklesis "demigod" but a proper name, a point seemingly confirmed by Dio's later report that Caesar had the name of the demigod removed.[12] The only possible demigod with whom Caesar might be equated is Romulus,[13] in which case the inscription Caesar had erased will have been *Caesari Romulo.* Why Caesar should be identified with Romulus in connection with a globe is another matter (see below, pp. 59 f.).

Following Munda but before Caesar's return to Rome in October of 45, we have a further set of honours voted by the senate. On receiving news of the battle (20th April), the senate decreed that the Parilia of the following day should be celebrated in commemoration of the victory; Weinstock is surely right that the coincidence of the news with the anniversary of Rome's foundation must have been contrived to emphasize the picture of Caesar as a new Romulus.[14] In the procession from the Capitol to the Circus, preliminary to games marking the Parilia,[15] an ivory ἀνδριάς of Caesar was to be transported in the company of the gods (CD 43, 45, 2), a detail confirmed by a letter of Cicero dated 26th May, from which it has been inferred that Caesar's statue was to accompany that of Quirinus.[16] In conferring on Caesar an honour of the gods, first heard of in connection with the *pompê* of Philip II of Macedon,[17] this privilege was a great novelty; it was subsequently repeated at the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris* of the following July, when Caesar's statue followed that of Victoria.[18] In addition an εἰκών of Caesar was to be placed in the temple of Quirinus with an inscription that Dio gives as Θεῷ ἀνικήτῳ.[19] Thus both images—the ivory ἀνδριάς in the *pompa circensis* and the εἰκών in the temple of Quirinus—bear upon Caesar's relationship to Romulus-Quirinus. That the *eikon* was placed in the temple, presumably soon after 21st April, is confirmed by a slightly earlier letter of Cicero dated 17th May.[20]

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[6] So J. A. North, *JRS* 65 (1975), 173; *contra DJ* 68-75.

[7] ἅρμα τέ τι αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀντιπρόσωπον τῷ Διὶ ἱδρυθῆναι, καὶ ἐπὶ εἰκόνα αὐτὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης χαλκοῦν ἐπιβιβασθῆναι, γραφὴν ἔχοντα ὅτι ἡμίθεός ἐστι... (CD 43, 14, 6). For discussion see *DJ* 40-59. Neither the chariot nor the statue were dedicated in the Capitolium facing the cult statue of Jupiter, as argued by A. von Domaszewski, "Die göttlichen Ehren Caesars", *Philologus* 67 (1908), 1 (= Wlosok, *Kaiserkult* [above, Intr. II; note 18] 329); cf. Taylor, *Divinity* 64. The statue of Jupiter must have been one of several standing in the open on the Area Capitolina. For an inventory see Weinstock, *o.c.* 58.

[8] Dio *ibid.*

[9] *Gnomon* 47 (1975), 159 f.

[10] S. Weinstock, "Victor and Invictus," *HThR* 50 (1957), 211-247 at 232 f., arguing that Alexander must have earlier been represented in the same way.

[11] ἡμίθεος is clearly the translation of *divus* in Servius *ad. Buc.* 9, 46, but Caesar can hardly have been called *divus* in 46 B.C.; *contra* Weinstock (above, note 10) 232. When Dio wishes to call Augustus *divus*, the word he uses is θεῖος.

[12] ...ὕστερον δὲ τὸ τοῦ ἡμιθέου ὄνομα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπήλειψεν. (CD 43, 21, 2). See further D. Fishwick, "The Name of the Demigod", *Historia* 24 (1975), 624-628.

[13] *DJ* 175-199; W. Burkert, "Caesar und Romulus-Quirinus", *Historia* 11 (1962), 356-376.

Difficulties arise on two issues. Cicero's description of Caesar as *synnaos* with Quirinus is surely to be taken in the malicious sense that he hoped Caesar would be torn to pieces by the senators like Romulus.[21] But what is meant by *synnaos*? Strictly speaking, this should imply a cult image of Caesar sharing the temple on level terms with that of Quirinus.[22] Yet the word Dio uses is εἰκών (often a bust, though it could also be a statue or a painting) not ἄγαλμα and that Dio is aware of the technical difference between terms of this kind is clear from the previous sentence, where he says that Caesar's ivory ἀνδριάς (his statue as a man) was to be carried together with the ἀγάλματα of the gods in procession. Though Dio, writing two and a half centuries after the event, can often enough be wrong,[23] it seems clear that in his view the *eikon* in the temple was not an idol;[24] rather it will have been in the nature of a votive offering to Quirinus, which nevertheless brought great honour on Caesar.[25] In that case, although in the literal sense Caesar did share the same temple with Quirinus and might consequently be described as his "fellow-lodger" (*contubernalis*), Cicero is in fact exaggerating in calling him *synnaos*; and this exaggeration must be understood as sarcasm—part of the "barbed wit".[26] The other problem is the inscription. The wording given by Dio must link Caesar with Alexander, to whom a statue looks to have been erected at Athens with the same epigraph.[27] But, as Weinstock points out, a statue of Caesar, dedicated to him as a second Alexander, is appropriate neither to the temple of Quirinus[28] nor to the festival of the foundation of Rome;[29] what one might rather have expected in the context is a likeness of Caesar as Romulus. In light of this it may be suggested that Dio is guilty of confusion with the statue from the previous year and has managed to switch their inscriptions.[30] An epigraph making Caesar a second Alexander would fit very well with the bronze statue of him, foot on(?) globe, set up in 46 on the Capitol[31]—and, if the ultimate model was a statue of Alexander at Athens so inscribed, a direct translation *deo invicto* would surely be appropriate.[32] The fact that Caesar had the inscription removed (it had been put there in his absence) would then be explained by the circumstance that for Caesar to be addressed as "the unconquered god", like Alexander, was bound to cause trouble.[33] Conversely, an epigraph to the effect that Caesar was a demigod, as Dio states, would admirably suit the εἰκών in the temple of Quirinus, especially if in fact it was inscribed *Caesari Romulo.* Such a dedication could hardly be better suited to either the place or the occasion. The possibility that Dio could have mixed the two images up seems therefore worth serious consideration.[34]

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[14] *DJ* 175 f. For the character of the festival see *ibid.* 184-186, 188-197.

[15] Weinstock (above, note 10) 234, n. 141, observes that, as games were not a part of the Parilia, they must have been improvised on this occasion to mark Caesar's victory at Munda; cf. *DJ* 185.

[16] *Quid? tu hunc de pompa, Quirini contubernalem, his nostris moderatis epistulis laetaturum putas?* (*Ad Att.* 13, 28, 3). Cf. Weinstock, *DJ* 175; Alföldi (above, note 9) 165. The method of transportation is disputed. Weinstock, *DJ* 185, 285 argues that the statue was carried in a handbarrow (*ferculum*) in 45, the next year on a carriage (ὄχος = *tensa*); Alföldi, *l. c.* infers from Dio that the statue was first placed in the *tensa* of Quirinus, later in a *tensa* of its own. But a *tensa* did not normally carry a statue and, when this privilege was granted Caesar in 44, it was meant to carry his symbols; cf. H. S. Versnel, *Mnemosyne* 29 (1976), 100. It seems likely, then, that Caesar's statue will have been carried in a *ferculum* each year. Suetonius, it may be noted, mentions both a *tensa* and a *ferculum* in the *pompa circensis*: *Caes.* 76, 1.

[17] See "Hellenistic Ruler Cult" above, p. 19; note 85.

[18] See below, note 33.

[19] ἄλλην τέ τινα εἰκόνα ἐς τὸν τοῦ Κυρίνου ναὸν Θεῷ ἀνικήτῳ ἐπιγράψαντες... (CD 43, 45, 3).

[20] *De Caesare vicino scripseram ad te, quia cognoram ex tuis litteris. Eum* σύνναον *Quirino malo quam Saluti* (*Ad Att.* 12, 45, 2).

[21] Alföldi (above, note 9) 164. Weinstock's proposal, *DJ* 171, that there was an alternative plan to set up the statue in the temple of Salus pending completion of a supposed new temple of Salus Caesaris is unconvincing; cf. North (above, note 6) 174.

[22] See "Isotheoi Timai" above, pp. 22 f.

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[23] Cf. North (above, note 6) 172 f.

[24] Cf. CD 47, 18, 4, where Caesar's cult image, which seems to have been temporarily kept in the temple of Venus Genetrix (CD 45, 7, 1), is called ἄγαλμα. This image, unlike the εἰκών in the temple of Quirinus but like Caesar's ivory ἀνδριάς in 45, was carried in the *pompa circensis* along with the cult statue of Venus. The key passage illustrating Dio's differentiation between the technical terms is his account of the gold image of Augustus provisionally kept in the temple of Mars Ultor pending completion of the temple of Divus Augustus: ...εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ χρυσῆν ἐπὶ κλίνης ἐς τὸν τοῦ Ἄρεως ναὸν ἔθεσαν, καὶ ἐκείνῃ πάντα ὅσα τῷ ἀγάλματι αὐτοῦ μετὰ τοῦτο χρήσεσθαι ἔμελλον ἐνόμισαν (56, 46, 4). See further "Divus Augustus" below, p. 161, with note 12.

[25] See Nock, "Synnaos Theos" (above, Intr. I; note 6) 3 (= *Essays* 204). The εἰκών will undoubtedly have stood in the *cella*; cf. Nock, *o.c.* 53 f.; 56. Similarly Caesar put a gold εἰκών of Cleopatra in the temple of Venus Genetrix beside the cult statue; Appian, *BC* 2, 102; cf. CD 51, 22, 3. For statues as temple offerings see *P. Oxy.* 12, 1449, ll. 11 f.

[26] J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Gnomon* 39 (1967), 151. For the circumstance that Cicero could use the term loosely see "*Isotheoi Timai*", above, Intr. III; with n. 14; cf. Plut., *Amatorius* 9:753E.

[27] Hyperides, *Or.* 1, col. 32, ll. 3-5 Cf. Nock, "Synnaos" 2, n. 2 (= *Essays* 203, n. 2); Weinstock (above, note 10) 212, 234 f.

[28] G. Dobesch, *Caesars Apotheose zu Lebezeiten und sein Ringen um den Königstitel*, Vienna, 1966, 13, suggests a reference to an early concept of Quirinus as a god of war.

[29] *DJ* 188.

[30] Confusion would be easy enough. Servius, for instance, muddles the later statue of Caesar in the temple of Venus Genetrix with the statue on the Capitol; see above, note 11.

[31] For other links between Caesar and Alexander in 46 or earlier see Weinstock (above, note 10) 233 with nn. 136 f.; also in general D. Michel, *Alexander als Vorbild für Pompeius, Caesar und Marcus Antonius* (*Coll. Latomus* 94), Brussels, 1967.

[32] *DJ* 186-188. Doubted by Alföldi (above, note 9) 165, cf. 160, who believes the inscription under both statues read *Numini Caesaris invicti.*

The grant of further privileges is placed by Dio in 44—though he does not attribute all to one time (44, 4-6)—whereas Appian places a selection of these in 45 (*BC* 2, 106).[35] Among them are some that are not so much *isotheoi timai* as measures that served to sacralize his person or provide "sacred confirmation" of his position in the state, in particular annual public vows for his safety[36] and the introduction of an oath by Caesar's *genius.*[37] But other provisions conferred outright divine honours. A new *domus publica* was to be built for Caesar instead of that on the Sacra Via, which he had occupied since becoming *pontifex maximus* in 63, and the new house was to have a pediment like a temple.[38] That this extraordinary privilege was a symbol of divinity rather than monarchy is confirmed by Cicero: *Quem is honorem maiorem consecutus erat, quam ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum, fastigium, flaminem?* (*Phil.* 2, 110; cf. 111). By decreeing that a public sacrifice should be performed on Caesar's birthday (a festival made obligatory in 42), the senate gave Caesar an honour paid to Hellenistic kings and earlier to the rulers of Egypt and Persia.[39] According to Dio, the senate also ordered that Caesar should have a statue in the cities (of Italy) and in all the temples of Rome.[40]

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[33] Note that, when Caesar's statue followed Victoria at the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris* of July 45, the people failed to applaud Victoria because of her undesirable neighbour: Cic., *Ad Att.* 13, 44, 1.

[34] Cicero compares Caesar disparagingly with Alexander in the letter of 26th May, but it by no means follows that he had in mind a statue of Caesar in the temple of Quirinus with the inscription *deo invicto*: Caesar himself had asked Cicero to address a συμβουλευτικός to him in the manner of Theopompus and Aristotle, who had written letters of advice to Alexander in this way. In criticising Caesar as the *contubernalis* of Quirinus, Cicero could equally well have been thinking of a statue inscribed *Caesari Romulo.* For discussion of the letter see Weinstock (above, note 10) 233 f.; J. R. Fears, "The Stoic View of the Career and Character of Alexander the Great", *Philologus* 118 (1974), 113-130 at 120 f.

[35] Weinstock, *DJ* 270, cf. 200, divides the list between 45 and 44; Alföldi (above, note 9) 170, perfers to keep Dio's chronology on the grounds that a block grant of many honours can be inferred from Livy and Suetonius.

[36] *DJ* 217-220; A. Alföldi, *Phoenix* 24 (1970) 170.

[37] *DJ* 212-214.

[38] *DJ* 276-281; Alföldi (above, note 9) 171, suggesting that the old house, in reality an office, had simply become too small to accommodate Caesar's staff. The new *domus publica* was never actually built but the pediment was presumably placed on the old building on the Sacra Via since Calpurnia dreamed about it the night before Caesar's murder.

[39] *DJ* 206-212, 214. Despite Weinstock's arguments, the evidence falls short of confirming the creation of a public cult of the Genius Caesaris; cf. North (above, note 6) 174.

[40] V. Ehrenberg is surely right in considering this an exaggeration: "Caesar's Final Aims", *HSCP* 68 (1964), 149-161 at 154.

Weinstock takes this to mean that Caesar was to be *synnaos*,[41] but the term Dio uses is ἀνδριάς—the same word he uses of the two statues on the Rostra decked with the *corona civica* and the *corona obsidionalis* (44, 4, 5); and these are certainly not cult statues. Caesar's ἀνδριάς in the temples of Rome must therefore be technically an offering, like his εἰκών in the temple of Quirinus;[42] his statue in the cities is not put in a religious context. A typical honour of the Hellenistic Age is the attachment of Caesar's name to the month Quintilis, which was henceforth to be called Iulius, because Caesar had been born in that month.[43] Similar privileges are the naming of a tribe after Caesar, the *tribus Iulia* to be selected by lot,[44] and the institution of a further priestly college called the *luperci Iulii*, self-governing and self-funded. Creating a third group of Luperci helped the comparison of Caesar with Romulus and is to be related to the honours granted at the Parilia in 45.[45] Again on the Hellenistic model, a pentaeteric festival was to be celebrated in honour of Caesar ὡς ἥρωι[46] and a fifth day added to the *ludi Romani.*[47]

The accelerating process of divinization reached a crescendo with the decrees of late January or February 44, passed in the shadow of Caesar's pending departure for the Parthian War. A measure of perhaps early February[48] granted him a golden chair to be carried to the theatre, a further privilege of the gods, the thrones of whom were transported in procession to the theatre, where they were exhibited bearing their divine symbols.[49] This was the rite of the *sellisternium* and Caesar's chair bearing his golden crown decorated with gems was likewise to be carried to the theatre ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς τῶν θεῶν (CD 44, 6, 3); as it turned out, it was not displayed until after his death when Octavian managed to overcome Anthony's opposition.[50] A closely related honour granted by the senate on the same occasion gave Caesar a special carriage (ὄχος = *tensa*) to bear his symbols (*exuviae*) in the procession to the Circus,[51] where they were to be placed on the couch of the gods (*pulvinar*)—the right of the *lectisternium.* If *tensae* were reserved for the Capitoline deities, as Weinstock infers, Caesar will have received a special privilege of the Capitoline Triad. Whether his symbols (and ivory statue) were exhibited at the *pulvinar* of the Capitoline deities is less clear;[52] Cicero refers to the *pulvinar* of Caesar (above, p. 60), which seems to mean—if Cicero is not exaggerating—that Caesar had his own couch. Hitherto only gods had had their images on Roman coins but Dio must mean that this right too was accorded Caesar, the first Roman to receive it, when the senate stamped the title *parens patriae* on the coinage; the privilege perhaps belongs to February of 44 as Caesar is not portrayed on gold and silver coins struck in January.[53] How far the honour can be considered monarchical depends upon one's views of Caesar's plans (see below, pp. 67 ff.);[54] it had of course been earlier enjoyed by Hellenistic kings.

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[41] *DJ* 309 with n. 3.

[42] Appian refers to ἀναθήματα in all the temples and public places (*BC* 2, 106), while Suetonius mentions *templa, aras, simulacra iuxta deos* (*Caes.* 76, 1). Neither passage necessarily echoes this particular provision listed by Dio. Alföldi (above, note 36) 171 interprets Suetonius in the strict sense to mean instances where Caesar appeared as *synnaos*, which is what *simulacra iuxta deos* ought to mean. But Suetonius is speaking generally (and loosely?) here, whereas Dio seems to make a conscious choice between the different technical terms; see above, p. 58.

[43] *DJ* 152-158; "*Isotheoi Timai*", above, p. 26; cf. Alföldi (above, note 9) 163, who rejects Weinstock's view that the transference of the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris* to the month of Quintilis in 45 or the creation of the Julian calendar in 46 imply that Caesar consciously planned an honorific month for himself. The measure was put into effect posthumously by Anthony; see "Gaius Iulius Caesar Octavianus", below, p. 75.

[44] *DJ* 158-162.

[45] *DJ* 332 f.; Alföldi (above, note 36) 172.

[46] *DJ* 310-317; Alföldi's suggestion (above, note 36) 170 f. that ἥρως must be translated *divus* and related to Caesar's cult name Divus Iulius is unconvincing. Dio is surely making the point that the games were instituted in recognition of Caesar's special status, just as games formed part of the cult of Hellenistic kings or of Roman generals and administrators in the East.

[47] *DJ* 265 f.

[48] For the date see *DJ* 281, n. 5 with Alföldi's comments (above, note 9) 171.

[49] *DJ* 281-286 with Alföldi's precisions *ibid.* The chair must be the same as that granted him for official functions (CD 44, 6, 1); see further below, note 94.

The culminating legislation,[55] as given by Dio, concerns a cult name Iuppiter Iulius, a temple to be consecrated to Caesar and his Clementia, and the election of Anthony as priest "like some *flamen Dialis*"—evidently for the service both of Caesar as Iuppiter Iulius and of Caesar together with his Clemency: καὶ τέλος Δία τε αὐτὸν ἄντικρυς Ἰούλιον προσηγόρευσαν, καὶ ναὸν αὐτῷ τῇ τ' Ἐπιεικείᾳ αὐτοῦ τεμενισθῆναι ἔγνωσαν, ἱερέα σφίσι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὥσπερ τινὰ Διάλιον προχειρισάμενοι. (44, 6, 4). The temple of Clementia is mentioned by Plutarch (*Caes.* 57, 3), while Appian adds the detail that the temple decreed to Caesar and Clementia was to represent them clasping hands (*BC* 2, 106); if so, the two were intended to be *synnaoi*,[56] the only certain instance we know of in regard to Caesar. The temple is shown on a *denarius* struck in 44,[57] confirming that it was decreed by the senate, the proper authority in such matters, but seems never to have been built. On the other hand it is clear that Dio has conflated evidence about Caesar and his Clementia with the information he had on Iuppiter Iulius and his priest. In recognizing this, Weinstock has argued, like Dobesch, that Dio must mean Caesar was identified with Jupiter and Anthony was to be his priest; he sketches the history of comparisons of rulers with Zeus or Jupiter and demonstrates that a dictator was particularly suited to such a role, especially in light of specific parallels between Caesar and Jupiter.[58] Dio's version of the cult title is entirely credible, then, and it was not until after Caesar's murder that Iuppiter Iulius was changed to Divus Iulius. All other considerations aside, however, the evidence of Dio, who alone states the senators hailed Caesar as Iuppiter Iulius, need not imply that Caesar was identified with Jupiter;[59] nor is his comparison of Anthony's flaminate exactly the same as that made by Cicero, a contemporary witness. What Cicero says is: *Est ergo flamen, ut Iovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic divo Iulio M. Antonius* (*Phil.* 2, 110)—that is, the comparison holds for all three *flamines maiores.* Caesar's priesthood is therefore modelled on the general lines of the major flaminate, not specifically on that of Jupiter, and it could be argued that the closest resemblance, given Caesar's relationship to Romulus, is rather to the office of *flamen Quirinalis.*[60] At all events the evidence of Cicero does not really confirm Dio's statement that the flaminate of Caesar was based upon the *flamonium Dialis*, a notion that can in any case be shown as most unlikely on general grounds.[61]

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[50] See Gaius Iulius Caesar Octavianus, below, p. 74.

[51] See above, note 16.

[52] *DJ* 285.

[53] Alföldi (above, note 9) 170; Weinstock suggests the right may have been decreed in 45; *DJ* 274 f.

[54] See R. A. G. Carson, "Caesar and the Monarchy", *G. & R* (1957), 46-53 at 52; *contra* Alföldi (above, note 9) 172.

[55] For the view that the decree dates to the end of December 45 (rather than perhaps early February 44) see Dobesch, *Caesars Apotheose* (above, note 28) 62 ff.; cf. *id.*, "Nochmals zur Datierung des grossen Senatskonsultes", *JOEAI* 49, 2 (1971), 50-60; *contra* Balsdon (above, note 26) 152 f.

[56] *DJ* 309; Alföldi (above, note 36) 171. Appian's information must derive from the decree, as the temple was never built. A coin represents the *projected* temple: below, note, 57.

[57] Crawford, *RRC* (above Intr. V; note 5), 1, p. 491, no. 21, cf. p. 495. Alföldi (above, note 36) 169 dates the coin to April. The legend shows that the temple was in fact to be dedicated to *Clementia Caesaris*, not to Caesar.

A more convincing case can be made for the interpretation first proposed by E. Meyer and later followed by Taylor, Alföldi *et al.*, if with significant, independent variations.[62] On this view one must reject Dio' statement that the decree conferring divinity named Caesar Iuppiter Iulius. The key evidence is that of Cicero, *Phil.* 2, 110, composed in October of 44; *Quem is honorem maiorem consecutus erat quam ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum, fastigium, flaminem? Est ergo flamen ... sic divo Iulio M. Antonius?*; cf. 111: *Quaeris placeatne mihi pulvinar esse, fastigium, flaminem.* Here the tenses show that just before his death Caesar had been decreed a cult image (*simulacrum*) and a priest (*flamen*), also that Anthony had been selected to serve as priest of Divus

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[58] *DJ* 287-310; Dobesch, *Caesars Apotheose* (above, note 28) 17 ff.; cf. Habicht, "Augusteische Zeit" (above, Intr. III; note 7) 52, n. 1. But see Fredricksmeyer, "Divine Honours" (above, Intr. II; note 12) 51 f.

[59] Balsdon (above, note 26) 152 f.

[60] Cf. Burkert (above, note 13) 357. On the *flamen Quirinalis* see now E. Badian, "The House of the Servilii Gemini", *PBSR* 52 (1984), 49-71 at 58, no. 21.

[61] North (above, note 6) 175 f.; Alföldi (above, note 9) 172; *contra* Weinstock, *DJ* 287, cf. 307 f. Dio's comparison is doubtless influenced by what he knows of the cult name Iuppiter Iulius.

[62] For a useful review see Gesche, *Caesar* (above, note 1) 164 ff.; cf. Ehrenberg (above, note 40) 149 f.; Alföldi (above, note 9) 172; Wlosok, "Einführung" in Kaiserkult (above, Intr. II; note 18) 24 f.

Iulius. Mention of the *pulvinar* and *fastigium* clearly harps back to earlier legislation (above, pp. 60 ff.) and the remaining *honores* Cicero lists are all known to be true after Caesar's death.[63] Cicero's evidence is consequently decisive for the thesis that legislation had been passed by which Caesar was officially deified in his lifetime[64]—legally-binding, formal apotheosis as opposed to an avalanche of earlier honours by which he was simply divinized. So strong is this evidence that it cannot be discounted by the claim of Adcock and others[65] that the flaminate was in Caesar's honour (whatever that may mean) rather than for his worship. Dio's version is certainly very close to that of Cicero, so it is possible that his misinformation about Iuppiter Iulius is due to misunderstanding or corruption by which Cicero's *divus Iulius* has somehow become Dio's Δία Ἰούλιον.[66] Documentary proof of the view, Alföldi adds, is provided by coins which he assigns to the second half of February 44: in particular a *denarius* showing a star and crescent moon—symbols of divinity—behind Caesar's head.[67] He also follows Taylor in believing that the *Lex Rufrena* (Degrassi, *ILLRP* 409 f.) represents the people's agreement to the senate's decree of deification passed at the very end of Caesar's life.[68]

A variation on this view, put forward by Gesche, is that measures providing for Caesar's deification had indeed been brought in in 44 before his death but the intention was that they should take effect only *after* his death—like the provision by which he was to be buried within the *pomerium*.[69] Caesar was not therefore deified in his lifetime and it was Octavian's intention to carry out the provisions of this decree that lies behind his words at the *contio* of about November 44 reported by Cicero: *iurat "ita sibi parentis honores consequi liceat"* (*Ad Att.* 16, 15, 3). The *posthumous* deification of Caesar, a notion in accord with contemporary ideas, will thus have provided the model and starting point for the later deification of Roman emperors. Ingenious as it is, this theory runs into serious, if not fatal, difficulties. As Alföldi noted, such a proposal in February of 44 would have been tantamount to wishing Caesar dead;[70] more practically how can one appoint a *flamen* whose office would come into effect only at some hypothetical time in the future, by when the designee himself might be dead.[71] Gesche correctly points out that there would have been time before the assassination to put the measure into effect: if Alföldi is right, astral apotheosis—confirming that the decree making Caesar Divus Iulius had come into existence—is in fact attested on the coins of late February. But, whether this numismatic evidence is acceptable or not, we are told that Anthony was actually named—presumably subsequently to the legislation—though he had not yet been inaugurated by the Ides.[72] Gesche insists that deification requires a cult statue, a priest and a cult place, but Cicero mentions two of these and construction of the temple of Divus Iulius, begun in 42 and not completed until 29, could be taken as implementation of a provision of the decree of February 44.[73] And why is it that there is not a word of intended posthumous deification in the sources? One cannot argue that *divus*, for example, was restricted at this time to someone dead for, as Weinstock has shown, the term had not yet taken on its technical meaning.[74] It might be added that in Appian Anthony praises Caesar on 19th March as though he were a god in heaven (*BC* 2, 146), while Suetonius on the same occasion refers to an earlier decree of the senate *quo omnia simul ei divina atque humana decreverat* (*Caes.* 84, 2). Plutarch alone refers to a meeting of the senate on

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[63] The *simulacrum* must be Caesar's image, which is not the εἰκών in the temple of Quirinus, as suggested by J. Vogt, "Zum Herrscherkult bei Julius Caesar" in G. E. Mylonas (ed.), *Studies presented to David Moore Robinson on his Seventieth Birthday*, St. Louis, Missouri, 1953, 2, 1138-1146 at 1140 f. (= Wlosok, *Kaiserkult* 340-350 at 343 f.); cf. Ehrenberg (above, note 40) 154. It may be rather the ἄγαλμα (cf. CD 47, 18, 4) which Octavian placed in the temple of Venus Genetrix, fitted with a star above the head, shortly after the appearance of the comet at the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris* of 20th-30th July, 44 (CD 45, 7, 1); cf. Weinstock, *DJ* 393, n. 10. Unlike the later gold image of Augustus in the temple of Mars Ultor (above, note 4), Caesar's statue was of bronze. This is surprising for an ἄγαλμα, perhaps, but ascribable to caution on the part of Octavian, whom Dio describes as having taken courage at the appearance of the comet. A *simulacrum* will doubtless have been included in the decree of deification before Caesar's death.

[64] So North (above, note 6) 175; cf. E. Rawson, "Caesar's Heritage: Hellenistic Kings and their Roman Equals", *JRS* 65 (1975), 148-159 at 149.

[65] *CAH* 9, 718; cf. Balsdon (above, note 26) 154 f.; Gesche, *Caesar* 166 f. with bibl.

[66] Taylor, *Divinity* 70; cf. J. Carcopino, *Les Étapes de l'Impérialisme romain*,^{2} Paris, 1961, 147; *id.*, *Jules César*, Paris, 1968, 431 f.; North, *l. c.*; Gesche, *Caesar* (above, note 1) 166 f.

[67] Alföldi (above, note 9) 173, 177; (above, note 36) 169; Weinstock, *DJ* 377 f.; Crawford *RRC* (above, Intr. V; note 5) no. 480/5. But see *ibid.* pp. 492 ff.; further North (above, note 6) 173 f.

[68] L. R. Taylor, "Divus Iulius", *TAPA* 58 (1927), xvf (= Wlosok, *Kaiserkult* 333); Alföldi (above, note 36) 169; *id.*, "La divinisation de César dans la politique d'Antoine et d'Octavien entre 44 et 40 avant J.C.", *RN* 15 (1973), 99-128 at 124-126 (*ad CIL* 6, 872; *CIL* 9, 5136 = *ILS* 73, 73a; cf. CD 44, 4, 4); *id.*, (above, note 9) 178. Others date the *lex Rufrena* to 42 or 39; cf. Gesche, *Caesar* 171 f. See further P. Herz, "Das Kenotaph von Limyra. Kultische und juristische Voraussetzungen," *MDAI (I)* 35 (1984), 178-192 at 188.

[69] H. Gesche, *Die Vergottung Caesars* (Frankfurter Althistorische Studien 1), Kallmünz, 1968, 40-53. For a summary see *eadem*, "Die Vergottung Caesars" in Wlosok, *Kaiserkult* 368-374.

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[70] Above, note 36, 175.

[71] North (above, note 6) 175; Rawson (above, note 64) 149, n. 14.

[72] This must be because there had been insufficient time before the Ides of March. The circumstance that Anthony had not yet taken office can hardly be held to rule out Cicero's plain implication that Caesar was to have a priest in his lifetime; *contra* Gesche, *Vergottung* (above, note 69) 31, 89 ff. Weinstock, *DJ* 305 f., suggests Caesar will have "picked" Anthony in his capacity as *pontifex maximus*; Alföldi (above, note 9) 179, thinks Anthony will have been designated by the senate.

[73] Weinstock, *DJ* 393, takes this to be the renewal of an earlier decree; but the source he gives is Appian's loose statement that many temples were decreed to Caesar as to a god (Appian, *BC* 2, 106; Suet. *Caes.* 76, 1 simply mentions *templa*). A temple must surely have been provided for in the actual decree of deification. Cicero does not mention this—possibly because it would be stretching the truth to say that Caesar had obtained a temple when one was not yet and could not possibly be in existence. By the cult statue (*simulacrum*) Cicero may have meant Caesar's ἄγαλμα in the temple of Venus Genetrix; see above, note 24.

[74] *DJ* 391 f.; cf. Taylor, *Divinity* 69 f. For arguments to the contrary see Gesche, *Caesar* 167 with refs.

17th March, when the senate voted to honour him ὡς θεόν (*Caes*. 67, 4); but there is no mention of this meeting in Dio and Appian and it is difficult to believe that two days after the murder the senate would have officially deified Caesar.[75] Either we must reject Plutarch as in error[76] or (if the Greek can be so interpreted) take it that the senate voted to honour Caesar as the god he already was.[77]

The view of Meyer is by far the strongest. Even if one discards as unproven or speculative the numismatic arguments of Alföldi, there is still the key evidence of Cicero. This surely establishes once and for all that Caesar was deified in his lifetime, in which case the later actions of Octavian or the triumvirs must be seen as the realization of a decree passed before his death. The weakest link in the argument is the attempt to explain away the cult name Iuppiter Iulius as the result of misunderstanding or corruption.[78] It may be suggested rather that Dio has confused the issue by introducing information he had on another honour of Caesar[79]—information that, like his mention of the temple of Caesar and Clementia, is drawn from a source other than Cicero. For what Iuppiter Iulius ought to mean is not Julius who is Jupiter but Julian Jupiter, that is Jupiter who operates in the sphere of Julius, a personalization and specialization of Jupiter's function. Such a concept occurs both in Greek religion, for example Zeus Philippios or Zeus Seleukeios,[80] and in early Roman religion, where some deities are known only from their specialization;[81] later the idea is fundamental to Augustan deities of all kinds.[82] It is possible, then, that one of the honours granted Caesar was that Jupiter should be appropriated as his protective deity[83] and that Dio, out of confusion or misunderstanding, reports the senators hailed Caesar by the name of his patron god rather than by his cult name Divus Iulius; this would also help to explain his comparison of Caesar's priest with the *flamen Dialis*.

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[75] So rightly Gesche, "Vergottung" in Wlosok, *Kaiserkult* 370. Weinstock *DJ* 389 attributes to this day the first part of Caesar's "trial"; there is no evidence for this.

[76] So Alföldi (above, note 9) 175; Weinstock, *DJ* 354 f. leaves the matter open; M. P. Charlesworth, "Observations" (above, Intr. I; note 11) 25, accepts Plutarch's testimony.

[77] Slight support for such an interpretation might be drawn from the next clause, which is certainly retrospective to Caesar's lifetime: the decision not to disturb even the most insignificant of his measures while in power.

[78] For sound reasons to the contrary see Dobesche, *Caesars Apotheose* (above, note 28) 17 f., 23, 26.

[79] For the fact that Dio does not always report all the information he had see 43, 14, 7; 46, 1.

[80] See Nock, "Notes" (above, Intr. II; note 76) 41 f. (= *Essays* 156 f.); P. M. Fraser, "Zeus Seleukeios", *CR* 63 (1949), 92-4; Fredricksmeyer, "Divine Honours" (above, Intr. II; note 12) 51 f.

[81] W. F. Otto, "Römische 'Sondergötter'" *RhM* 64 (1909), 449-468; D. Fishwick, "Augustus Deus and Deus Augustus", in *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, Leiden, 1978, 1, 375-380; J. Fears, "Cult of Virtues" (above, Intr. III; note 43) 886-889.

[82] See "Augustan Gods", below Vol. II.

[83] First suggested by Nock, "Synnaos" 58, n. 246 (= *Essays* 247, n. 246). Jupiter Julius would thus be a prototype of an Augustan god.

That Caesar enjoyed a close relationship with Jupiter is confirmed in a number of ways: for example, the statue and chariot on the Capitol facing Jupiter; the provision that the deification decree should be recorded in inlaid gold letters on a silver tablet and placed at Jupiter's feet in his temple;[84] above all the people's plan to bring Caesar's corpse into the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and bury it there (Appian, *BC* 2, 148). If the creation of a Julian Jupiter is thus inherently plausible, it is easy to see how this could have confused Dio and produced his muddled account of the decree of deification.

Dio's account leaves no room for doubt that Caesar accepted this culminating honour. But whether Caesar intentionally worked for his own deification or whether this was something to which he finally agreed, perhaps reluctantly, is a problem bound up with his final aims. *De facto* the powers he had accumulated by late February 44 made him sole ruler. But did he intend to become formally king, and, if so, what form of kingship did he mean to create? The question is of central concern since deification was an integral element in the prevailing, contemporary pattern of monarchy, that of the Hellenistic god-king worshipped by his subjects in a dynastic cult.

On the influential view of E. Meyer, subsequently adopted by Taylor and many others, Caesar wished a Hellenistic-type monarchy more like that of Alexander than of the Diadochi.[85] The elevation of Caesar to the rank of state-god in 44 was thus the final step in introducing the ruler cult at Rome as the religious foundation of a monarchy—all in line with Caesar's political plans and his earlier honours. The case is supported by Caesar's undoubted interest in imitating Alexander, his experience in the East, where he had been granted divinity, and his close relationship with Cleopatra, whose statue he placed beside that of Venus Genetrix in her temple.[86] Against this must be set the model of a Roman-style monarchy elaborated particularly by Alföldi.[87] That Caesar aiming at renewing this form of kingship might be inferred from his interest in appearing as a second Romulus, his relationship to Quirinus, and the paraphernalia of Roman monarchy with which he is associated in the last months of his life. The concept of Romulus as *parens/pater patriae* is central in this regard and hence must be referred to the title of *parens patriae* granted Caesar in his last months.[88] Other possibilities that have been proposed include various combinations of the two types, a monarchy of Caesar's own invention,[89] or a monarchical position still to be worked out. Alternatively, since the evidence does not point clearly in one direction, it has been urged that Caesar had no plan of his own to institute a formal monarchy: Alföldi, for example, has argued more recently that Caesar came under pressure from the senate, for whom adulation provided insurance against proscriptions, and from the expectations of the mongrel population of Rome in search of a saviour.[90] All that seems clear is that, if the crescendo of divine honours culminated in measures for deification in his lifetime, and Caesar agreed to these, then divinity is a key element in whatever form of state he intended or eventually agreed to.

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[84] For an interpretation see C. Gatti, "Dione Cassio XLIV, 7; una proposta di interpretazione," *CRDAC* 8 (1976-77), 71-82. The use of precious metal in this connection is itself a divine honour; see "Liturgy and Ceremonial", below, Vol. II.

[85] Gesche, *Caesar* 154 ff. with bibl.; cf. Wlosok, "Einführung" in *Kaiserkult* (above, Intr. II; note 18) 24 ff. The most recent version of essentially the same view is that of Weinstock, who holds that Caesar planned a monarchy on the Eastern pattern with coronation and deification in his lifetime, all made acceptable under Roman forms; to this end he conceived a Roman version of the ruler cult. See *DJ* 318 ff.

[86] Above, note 25.

[87] A. Alföldi, *Studien über Caesars Monarchie*, Lund, 1953. But see Ehrenberg (above, note 40) 161, n. 9.

Such details as we have belong to the period just before Caesar's death and are recorded by Dio under 44. It seems clear that at this point Caesar was granted trappings that might appear on the surface to be kingly. Caesar is known to have worn a golden crown[91] at the festival of the Lupercalia on 15th February (CD 44, 11, 2; cf. Cic., *Phil.* 2, 85)—presumably a copy of Pompey's triumphal *corona aurea*— and Kraft may well be right that the crown is shown on a *denarius* of 44.[92] Caesar further received a golden throne for official functions;[93] Alföldi believes that he first took his place on it wearing the golden crown on 13th February, two days before he used it on the Rostra at the Lupercalia.[94] We also hear of a *purpurea toga/vestis*. In 45 Caesar had been granted triumphal dress for all games and sacrifices; now he received what Dio (alone) calls royal dress but Cicero and other authors "purple" apparel.[95] Are these insignia to be considered regal privileges then? Kraft in particular has argued that the crown was a golden Etruscan wreath, derived like Caesar's purple *toga* from Etruscan royal costume; so in wearing it Caesar will have been deliberately copying an ancient Etruscan king of Rome. Yet, as has been pointed out more than once,[96] if the wreath in particular had had royal connotations, it must surely have figured in the invective after Caesar's death. Caesar's wreath is not entirely similar to Kraft's examples of Etruscan wreaths and, even if the regalia did derive from the regal period, the moot point is whether it was seen by Caesar and his contemporaries as regal rather than triumphal.[97] Nothing excludes the older, traditional view that the crown and the purple robe were complimentary insignia marking him out as *triumphator* rather than *rex.*[98]

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[88] Alföldi, *Vater* (above, Intr. V, note 51). See further "*Roma et Augustus*", below, pp. 107 f. Wlosok, "Einführung" 26, makes the important point that, as Romulus was rewarded for his benefactions by posthumous deification, a monarchy on these lines could hardly have included deification in Caesar's lifetime.

[89] So Ehrenberg (above, note 40) 160.

[90] Alföldi (above, note 9) 170, 178 f.; (above, note 36) 167, 176.

[91] Weinstock's thesis, *DJ* 271 f., that the golden crown had been granted in 45 for the Circus, in 44 for other occasions, is unsupported by evidence.

[92] K. Kraft, *Der goldene Kranz Caesars und der Kampf um die Entlarvung des Tyrranen*, Darmstadt, 1969; cf. Crawford, *RRC* 480/2a-c; p. 488 with n. 1.

[93] *DJ* 272, n. 12 with refs.

[94] Alföldi (above, note 9) 171; (above, note 36) 171, noting that Dio's wording (44, 6, 3) makes it clear that this was the same golden chair as was exhibited at the theatre, not a different one or a duplicate; see above, p. 61.

[95] *DJ* 271, nn. 5-7 with refs.

[96] Notably by Carson (above, note 54) 52; cf. *id.*, *Gnomon* 28 (1956), 184.

Our sources also record two incidents, both of which are critical to the issue.[99] Not long after he was declared perpetual dictator Caesar returned from the Alban Mount to Rome on 26th January after celebrating the Latin Festival. We are told that he was acclaimed as king by the people and that either then or earlier his statues were decorated with a diadem; Caesar joked that his name was not Rex but Caesar but nevertheless deprived of their powers the tribunes who had on one version removed the diadems from his statues and arrested a man for putting them there, on another incarcerated the first man to call him king.[100] Was Caesar simply being acclaimed as "King of Alba", a sort of *rex sacrorum*—Weinstock believes he may have been in the traditional royal dress of the *rex Albanus*,[101] having been appointed *dictator Albanus*, the King's successor—or was the *ovatio ex Monte Albano* a ceremony deliberately staged to let Caesar enter Rome on horseback (essentially the ceremony of *adventus*) as a way of testing the people's reaction to the monarchy he planned?[102] Equally enigmatic is the famous scene two weeks later at the Lupercalia, when Anthony dressed as a *lupercus* called Caesar king, knelt and tried to put a diadem on his head. Caesar, *amictus toga purpurea*, *in sella aurea*, *coronatus*, as Cicero describes (*Phil.* 2, 85) refused it, catching the people's mood, and sent the diadem to the Capitoline temple of Jupiter, "the only king of the Romans". He then had it entered in the Fasti that he had refused what Anthony had offered him *populi iussu* (CD 44, 11, 2). Weinstock, following Dobesch, sees in the incident a deliberate analogy with the Hellenistic coronation rite and suggests this was a second attempt to force the acceptance of Caesar as a king; again it failed. He believes a third try was planned for the Ides, when Caesar was to be called king in accordance with the advice of the Sibylline books that only a king could conquer Parthia.[103] Yet Cicero and Suetonius thought this report untrue, and it may be wondered whether Caesar would have risked a third failure.[104] The "coronation" at the Lupercalia might equally well be interpreted as a deliberate attempt by Anthony to damage Caesar's reputation—or, less convincingly perhaps, a piece of play-acting pre-arranged by Caesar and Anthony to show that Caesar did *not* intend to become king.[105]

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[97] Carson, *ibid.*; Rawson (above, note 64) 148, n. 9 with refs.

[98] Crawford (above, note 92), following Carson *et al.*

[99] *DJ* 318-341.

[100] For the different versions of the same(?) event see *DJ* 319 f. with refs.

[101] Alföldi (above, note 9) 174, rejects the idea that Caesar could have worn the red boots of the Alban kings, as suggested by Weinstock, *DJ* 324.

[102] So Weinstock, *DJ* 326-331.

[103] *DJ* 340 f.; N. Horsfall, "The Ides of March: some new Problems" *G & R* 21 (1974), 191-199; Rawson (above, note 64) 149 f.

That Caesar enjoyed a quasi-monarchical position before he died is as clear as the fact that he made no move to restore Republican government. Equally evident is that he behaved as an autocrat in his last months and that the term *regnare* in its broadest sense could properly describe the nature of his rule.[106] It was inevitable, too, that he should be accused of wanting the title *rex.*[107] The rumours circulating of his ambition to become king plainly reveal that his murder was linked with the charge he was attempting to found a monarchy; this rather than his deification was what was objectionable and provoked conspiracy.[108] But the evidence surely falls short of a proven case of monarchical intentions. If kingship was what he aimed at, why is it that we have no real evidence of any plan to form a dynasty, for example.[109] There is more to be said for the view that Caesar was not so much aiming to be king as pushed towards and eventually over the threshold of monarchy—as of divinity—by sheer force of circumstances: a progression which Alföldi believes to be mirrored in the coins he assigns to February of 44 and later. In particular he recognises a representation of Caesar's royal diadem hung by a nail in the temple on a coin with the legend CAESAR DICT. QVART.—and consequently places this issue immediately after the Lupercalia on the Ides of February.[110] This view has been largely rejected by numismatists,[111] however, who take the "diadem" to be no more than a reverse *lituus* distorted by a die flaw. That Caesar was swept up by events rather than consciously determining them is likely enough (cf. CD 44, 6, 1; 6, 3); but, despite their contradictions, his actions surely point in the opposite direction, away from monarchy. "I am not Rex but Caesar" was what he said in January on returning from the Feriae Latinae, and whatever may or may not have taken place behind the scenes at the Lupercalia, no one could be in doubt that on the Ides of February Caesar had publicly and spectacularly refused kingship and even tied his hands for the future with his entry in the Fasti, surely deliberately.[112] On the longer view such action seems very much in line with the way he had inclined to moderation for the past year or so. Dio explicitly says that he did not accept some of the honours he was offered (CD 43, 14, 7; 46, 1), and we have noted his removal of the inscription "to the unconquered god" (above, pp. 59 f.). Then there is the puzzling incident before the temple of Venus Genetrix, when Caesar failed to rise from his golden throne to greet a deputation of the senate bringing him a long list of honours voted on a single day.[113] This has been interpreted in the sense that monarchs or gods do not rise,[114] but it could equally well be taken as an expression of displeasure at the prospect of still more honours that he did not want and were bound to cause trouble. Plutarch records his comment that the list needed shortening not lengthening (*Caes.* 60, 3) and we know from Dio that he did not harm Cassius and others who voted against them (44, 8, 1). All the same, his action was clearly unwise in that it antagonized the senate and he later made the excuse of illness;[115] the honours he finally accepted.

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[104] North (above, note 6) 173.

[105] For the confused accounts of the incident in the sources see J. P. V. D. Balsdon, "The Ides of March", *Historia* 7 (1958), 80-94 at 83, n. 20.

[106] Balsdon (above, note 105) 83, 87 ff.; (above, note 26) 155.

[107] Rawson (above, note 64) 158.

[108] Gesche, *Caesar* 172 ff. with bibl.

[109] Balsdon (above, note 105) 85-87; Ehrenberg (above, note 40) 157.

[110] Alföldi, *Studien* (above, note 87). For a summary see *id.*, (above, note 9) 172 f., where a new defence is promised in *Caesar in 44 v. Chr.*, *1* (now to be published posthumously).

[111] For a list see Balsdon (above, note 26) 155; Weinstock, *DJ* 339, n. 6; add Crawford, *RRC* 488, n. 1 *ad* no. 480/2a. See further Ehrenberg (above, note 40) 155 f.

On the whole it seems best to believe that the driving force was not Caesar himself. At the urging of the senate he agreed—unwisely—to honours that even included deification and trappings that could look monarchical. But not to the title of king (cf. CD 44, 9, 1-2). As several commentators have asked,[116] why should Caesar want the dangerous title of *rex* when he already had the essence of monarchy in the offices now concentrated in his person: *consul, imperator, triumphator, dictator perpetuo,* not to mention *pontifex maximus, augur* and *praefectus morum.* These made him more than a king—Caesar. Apparently he was ready to be treated as *de facto* monarch—he was even willing to condone diadems on his statues—but the episode at the Lupercalia in particular must be taken as an exercise in public relations, whether precontrived or instinctive reaction to an unforeseen turn of events. In sending the diadem to the Capitolium he not only dissociated himself from monarchy but also acquired the *gloria recusandi,* the repute of having turned down a title notable for its good as well as its bad connotations.[117] Where did all this leave him in the end? His agglomeration of powers was an *ad hoc* arrangement, doubtless intended to be fine-tuned later—he was a tired man on the eve of departing for the East[118]—but one element in it must on Cicero's evidence have been his deification. Incomplete and provisional as his position was, it might be described at the time as a divine Caesarship.

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[112] Rawson (above, note 64) 149. For the misrepresentation that Mark Anthony had offered the diadem (*regnum* was the word in the Fasti) *populi iussu* see Ehrenberg 155.

[113] Weinstock, *DJ* 275 with sources, n. 9, dates this event to late 45 rather than early 44, as given by Dio.

[114] Taylor, *Divinity* 72; Dobesch, *Caesars Apotheose* (above, note 28) 33 f.

[115] Weinstock, *DJ* 275 f., thinks Caesar was entitled by his superior rank to remain seated in the presence of the senators. Alföldi (above, note 9) 170 notes that it was still bad manners.

[116] Kraft, *Der goldene Kranz* (above, note 92) 45; M. Gelzer, *Caesar, der Politiker und Staatsman*[6], Wiesbaden, 1960, 295, n. 218; Rawson (above, note 64) 149, 158 f.

[117] Ehrenberg 153; Alföldi (above, note 36) 176; Rawson, throughout.

The significance of Caesar's career in the evolution of the ruler cult in Rome can be assessed in two opposite ways. On the majority view Caesar had decided to become a divine monarch in his lifetime with his own priest. By Weinstock's account this was part of an overall plan that embraced not only Rome and Italy but the empire as a whole, including Parthia.[119] His flaminate was to be the model for an empire-wide priesthood serving the cult of himself, which would thus replace the cult of Dea Roma as a central focus of imperial loyalty, and in securing legislation to this effect Caesar was the real founder of the imperial cult. In this, as in his whole programme of reforms, he anticipated almost everything later done by Augustus. The opposing view is that Caesar's career taught Octavian what not to do and that, as a result, he deliberately followed a path abruptly away from that of his adoptive father.[120] It is surely the latter that the facts support.[121] Just as Augustus restored the Republic in contrast to Caesar's policy, so where Caesar had agreed to deification in his lifetime Augustus avoided anything formal that might hint of it, reserving deification until after death.[122] Provincial cult, where alone the state might be involved, was carefully focused on Dea Roma alongside Augustus himself, but otherwise direct cult of the emperor was avoided in Rome and municipal and private cult were left to local or personal initiative; there was no organized, universal religion, part of a grand design. Thus, as shaped by Augustus, the imperial cult had very opposite characteristics to Weinstock's view of Caesar's plans. But that is not to say that Augustus learned only negative lessons from Caesar. On the contrary Weinstock is surely right that many of Augustus' programmes do have their germ in Caesar's ideas. Which precisely and to what degree depends upon one's assessment of the evidence in each particular case.

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[118] A. D. Nock, *Gnomon* 8 (1932), 516 citing Suet., *Caes.* 87.

[119] *DJ* 413, cf. 270, 401.

[120] See "Augustus and the West", below, p. 83 with note 1.

[121] North (above, note 6) 176 f.; J. Beaujeu, "*Le paganisme romain sous le Haut Empire*", in *ANRW* 2, 16, 1 (1978) 3-26 at 13.

[122] The dangers of a circular argument are obvious but the whole trend of Augustus' policy could be seen as indirect confirmation of the fact that Caesar was deified in his lifetime. See "Augustus and the West", below, pp. 83-90.

VII. GAIUS IULIUS CAESAR OCTAVIANUS

The funeral rites of Caesar were the signal for the populace to improvise a cult of the slain dictator on the site of his cremation.[1] The details are confused in the sources but we hear of a monument—an altar and a column inscribed *parenti patriae* on which offerings were made to Caesar—and it is clear that the imposter Amatius, the pseudo-Marius, played a major role until put to death by Anthony. This was not a cult organized by the state but the result of the people's enthusiasm, very much like the cult offered the Gracchi;[2] nor is it at all likely that Octavian had any hand in it. After the consul Dolabella removed the column at the end of April, apparently another of Numidian marble was erected, which remained in use *longo tempore*; the original round altar of 44 was later incorporated within the temple of Divus Iulius.[3]

Soon afterwards Octavian returned from Illyricum.[4] His early aim—*ita sibi parentis honores consequi liceat* (*Ad Att.* 16, 15, 3)—stated in the following November, has usually been taken to mean that Octavian originally planned a position in the state for himself much like that of Caesar at the time of his death.[5] Yet so bold a programme would have been very ambitious, perhaps overly so at the time, coming as it did from an *adolescens* still seeking a political base. An equally possible meaning is that given by Gesche, who takes Octavian to have intended to implement the honours voted Caesar during his lifetime; though she believes the cult was planned from the first to come into operation only posthumously.[6] Even on this interpretation, however, the effect of such efforts, if successful, would undoubtedly be to consolidate Octavian's own position as Caesar's successor, a point that he had underlined by promptly calling himself Caesar on arriving in Italy. By birth Octavian was Caesar's grandnephew, but he was entitled to the name by Caesar's will, which had adopted Octavian into the Julian house, though Anthony managed to postpone passage of a *lex curiata* giving official sanction.[7]

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[1] Taylor, *Divinity* 81-84; Weinstock, *DJ* 364-367; Alföldi (above, Intr. VI; note 9) 175 f.; Gesche, *Caesar* (above, Intr. VI; note 1) 169; Z. Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps*, Oxford, 1969, 71 f.

[2] Cf. the demonstrations at the Parilia of 21st April, when games were again held and Caesar's ivory statue carried in procession.

[3] *DJ* 399 f.; M. M. Pasquinucci, "L''altare' del Tempio del Divo Giulio", *Athenaeum* 52 (1974) 144-155. The monument on the site of Caesar's cremation has a parallel in the altar erected by the townsfolk of Herculaneum on the place where the ashes of M. Nonius Balbus were collected: *AEpig* (1976) no. 144=*AEpig* (1947) no. 53. See further L. Schumacher, "Das Ehrendekret für M. Nonius Balbus aus Herculaneum', *Chiron* 6 (1976), 165-184 at 182.

[4] For the beginnings of Octavian's career see A. Alföldi, *Octavians Aufstieg zur Macht* (Antiquitas 1), Bonn, 1976.

[5] So Habicht, "Augusteische Zeit" (above, Intr. III; note 7) 53; Alföldi, "Divinisation" (above, Intr. VI; note 68) 118; but see *id* (above, Intr. VI; note 36) 175.

[6] See "Divius Iulius", above, pp. 64 f.

Whatever he may have meant the following November, Octavian tried on several occasions in the meantime to display Caesar's golden throne—possibly at the *ludi Ceriales* of 12th-19th April,[8] certainly at the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris* of the following July—but on both occasions was thwarted by Anthony. Alföldi believes that these attempts are reflected in coins minted a year later, in the summer of 43, to pay Caesarian soldiers.[9] In the meantime, in a speech of about 18th May Octavian announced his plan to give the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris* at his own expense and to combine them with funerary games in memory of Caesar.[10] When the games were held, a comet showed for seven nights and was taken to be Caesar's star (*sidus Iulium*), supernatural confirmation that his soul had been received into heaven (Suet., *Caes.* 88; Pliny, *N.H.* 2, 94).[11] This was an astronomical windfall which Octavian put to shrewd use as a means of strengthening the conviction of those who believed Caesar had been assumed among the gods.[12] A few weeks (?) later he set a star above the head of Caesar's statue in the temple of Venus Genetrix.[13] The entire dogma of descent from Venus had now been taken over as part of Octavian's inheritance.[14] For the future the star was to be the symbol of the deified Iulius and confirmation of his apotheosis, which Octavian was now ready to bring to completion on earth.

The difficulty of Anthony's ambiguous position in all this, engaged as he was against both Octavian and Caesar's enemies, is perfectly clear; hence the readiness he showed to compromise with the senate.[15] Though it had been Anthony, who persuaded the senate to confirm Caesar's acts following the Ides of March, he moved slowly and selectively in implementing the earlier legislation: he was ready to accommodate the popular wish to honour Caesar but only in ways that were harmless to himself and would not offend the Republicans. As consul, he announced that the *ludi Apollinares* (6-13th July) would be held *Nonis Iuliis*, thus bringing into force the measure he himself had sponsored at the beginning of the year, re-naming the month of Quintilis. Caesar's birthday should also have been celebrated as a public festival on 12th July but may well have been omitted in all the excitement. But Anthony did perform sacrifices on the anniversaries of Caesar's victories and supplications for victories were prolonged a day in honour of Caesar, *mortuus* though he was. There were other details, too, as Cicero later reminded him in the Second Philippic (110). He ought to celebrate the additional fifth day of the *ludi Romani* in the Circus, which Anthony himself had proposed in Caesar's honour. And what about having himself inaugurated *flamen*? The answer Anthony could have given was that to become *flamen* of Divus Iulius would have made him in practice subordinate to Octavian, the son of Divus Iulius.

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[7] Gesche, *Caesar* 176-179 with bibl.; Alföldi, "Divinisation" (above, Intr. VI; note 68) 117-122. Both Suetonius, *Caes.* 76, 1, and Dio 43, 44, 2 state that the senate had granted Caesar the title *imperator* as a *praenomen* that was to pass by inheritance to his descendants. This evidence has been rejected as untrustworthy but, if it can be believed, Octavian will have also inherited the name *imperator.* See Weinstock, *DJ* 106-111 with numerous references.

[8] Denied by Weinstock, *DJ* 368, cf. 370. For later exhibition see *ibid.* 283.

[9] A. Alföldi, "Der Einmarsch Octaviens in Rom., August 43 v. Chr.", *Hermes* 86 (1958), 480-496; "Divinisation" 122-124; cf. *id.* (above, Intr. VI; note 9) 177; (above, Intr. VI; note 36) 173. But see Crawford, *RRC* (above, Intr. V; note 5) *ad* no. 491, pp. 500 f.

[10] Weinstock, *DJ* 368; Alföldi, *Aufstieg* (above, note 4) 96-98.

[11] Taylor, *Divinity* 91 f., notes that the comet was also taken as a sign of a new age dawning and privately associated by Octavian with his own re-birth. See further Weinstock, *DJ* 370-84; G. Radke, "Augustus und das Göttliche" in *Antike und Universalgeschichte* (Festschrift H. E. Stier), Münster, 1972, 257-279 at 274 f.

[12] Gesche, *Caesar* 169 f. with bibl. Cf. the possible *katasterismos* of Antiochus I of Commagene, "Hellenistic Ruler Cult", above, p. 20.

[13] For the possibility that this cult statue is the *simulacrum* of Cic., *Phil.* 2, 110 see "Divus Iulius" above, note 63.

[14] Wlosok, "Einführung" in *Kaiserkult* (above, Intr. II; note 18) 36 with n. 86 and bibl.

[15] Weinstock, *DJ* 369 f., 385 f.; Alföldi, "Divinisation" 113-117.

The man whom Cicero had dismissed as *laudandum adulescentem, ornandum tollendum* (*Ad Famm.* 11, 20, 1) now moved quickly to secure his position. The various extraordinary honours granted by the senate before 1st January 43 culminated in Octavian's seizure of the consulate the following 19th August after a march on Rome. His adoption was finally confirmed by a *lex curiata*, which thus legitimized his name Caesar, and he moved to avenge Caesar's murder. On 27th November, 43, the Second Triumvirate temporarily ended the rivalry of Anthony and Octavian and the final stage of Caesar's deification could be brought to completion. The idea that the official apotheosis of Caesar took place on the following 1st January, when Caesar's consecration was decreed by the senate,[16] must be abandoned if Caesar had already been placed among the number of the gods by the decree of 44. Despite vague statements by Appian to the effect that, in honoring his father on a par with the gods (ἰσοθέων), Octavian set the example for posthumous honours of Roman emperors (*BC* 2, 148), it is clear from what Dio says (47, 18, 2 ff.) that some features of earlier decrees were now implemented, others re-cast, and a few fresh measures added.[17] Celestial honours were not decreed in 42—this belongs to 44 though the decree had not been put into practice beyond nomination of Anthony as *flamen*—but a new temple, presumably prescribed in the decree of 44, was to be built to Divus Iulius on the spot made sacred by his cremation and where an altar already stood;[18] until this was completed in 29 Divus Iulius found lodging in the temple of Venus Genetrix. Much the same arrangements would be made under Tiberius for Divus Augustus. On the other hand a temple to Caesar and his Clementia was never completed, if ever started.[19] Caesar was given the same name as decreed earlier, Divus Iulius,[20] and the same *flamen*, Anthony, who still delayed installation until after the Peace of Brundisium in October of 40; at that stage he might hope that Octavian would not turn his title of *divi filius* to political advantage. The first use of the term is usually dated to coins of 38, though Alföldi places these earlier in 43.[21] Strictly speaking, Octavian's full title was now *C. Iulii divi filius Caesar*,[22] though he seems to have begun by calling himself *divi Iulii filius*. But from the increasing appearance of the title on coins[23] there can be little doubt that Octavian did make political capital out of the fact that he now had a god for a father,[24] a unique relationship that helped establish the legitimacy of his claim to rule and consolidate his power by winning over the adherents of Caesar. In particular the Perusine War (41-40) was fought with missiles inscribed *Divum Iulium* and captured Perusians are said to have been sacrificed at the altar of Divus Iulius on the Ides of March, 40.[25]

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[16] Weinstock's reconstruction of the rite of consecration in *DJ* 386-391 is a retrojection from practice under the empire, for which there is no evidence whatsoever in Caesar's case. He theorizes that the meeting of the senate on 1st January, 42, was the continuation of the "trial" of Caesar, the first part of which had been held at the meeting of the senate on 17th March, 44. See "Divus Iulius" above, Intr. VI; note 75. For discussion of the relevant sources see Alföldi, "Divinisation" 99-105.

[17] Taylor, *Divinity* 96 f.; Gesche, *Vergottung* (above, Intr. VI; note 69, 82 ff.; *eadem, Caesar* 171; Alföldi (above, Intr. VI; note 9) 177.

Evidence suggests that within a few years of Caesar's death a conscious effort was also made to propagate the cult of Divus Iulius, not only in Rome and Italy but also in the provinces. A fragmentary inscription from Ephesus preserves the Greek version of *velitis iubeatis* and a snatch of regulations concerning the cult of Divus Iulius; we have mention of a priesthood and the name of M. Antonius.[26] As North has pointed out, the very least the fragment confirms is that a *rogatio* put to the *comitia* in Rome was of local concern at Ephesus such that it was published there.[27] It seems very possible, then, that a cult of Divus Iulius was now established in the city. If so, Weinstock could well be right that Octavian had this in mind when, in answer to the request of the cities of Asia and Bithynia in 29 B.C., he permitted a temple of Roma and Divus Iulius at Ephesus (and Nicaea) for resident Roman citizens.[28] Presumably Octavian joined the cult of Roma with that of Divus Iulius unless this had been done earlier; the worship of Roma at Ephesus certainly goes back to the beginning of the first century B.C.[29] In any event the cult of Divus Iulius would on this reconstruction be a striking local counterpart to that of Roma and P. Servilius Isauricus, which, it has been suggested, was the model for the cult of Roma and Augustus prescribed by Octavian on the same occasion for non-Roman citizens.[30] Thus prototypes of both forms of cult occur at Ephesus, though the introduction of Divus Iulius will have been the work of the triumvirs rather than of Caesar himself, as Weinstock holds.

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[18] Weinstock, *DJ* 393, sees provision for a temple as a renewal of an earlier decree regarding temples to Caesar καθάπερ θεῷ (Appian, *BC* 2, 106; cf. Suet., *Caes.* 76, 1; see above, Intr. VI; note 73), but there is no mention here of a temple of Divus Iulius.

[19] See "Divius Iulius", above, p. 62.

[20] Alföldi (above, Intr. VI; note 9) 178; *id.*, "Divinisation" 102 f.

[21] A. Alföldi, "Porträtkunst und Politik in 43 v. Chr." in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 5 (Festschrift A. W. Bijvanck), Bussum, 1954, 151-171: cf. *id.*; (above, Intr. VI; note 36) 176, 178; (above, Intr. VI; note 9) 173, 176; "Divinisation" 107. *Contra* Crawford, *RRC* p. 99, Table xvii; no. 534, p. 535. See further Zehnacker, *Moneta* (above, Intr. V; note 5) 1061-63.

[22] *RE* 19 (1917) 275 f. s.v. Iulius (Fitzler-Seeck), quoting *CIL* 9, 4191.

[23] M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, Cambridge, 1969, 47-50, 207.

[24] For the significance of the relationship in public opinion see J Bayet, *Histoire politique et psychologique de la Religion romaine*, Paris, 1957, 170; further Fears, *Princeps* (above, Intr. II, note 25) 218, n. 50 with bibl. For θεοῦ υἱός see in general A. Deissman, *Licht vom Osten*, Tübingen, 1923, 294 f.

[25] Weinstock, *DJ* 398 with refs.

[26] J. Keil, *Forschungen aus Ephesos* 4, 3, Vienna, 1951, 280 f., no. 24. See further Addenda, p. 187.

[27] Above, Intr. VI; note 6, 176 with justified criticisms of Weinstock's far-reaching inferences, *DJ* 402 f.

The triumviral period has been interpreted by Lambrechts and others as a time when Octavian was less inhibited about accepting divine honours than later.[31] This could be so at least down to *ca.* 36 though, apart from his preoccupation with the *divi filius* title, evidence is insufficient to support an overwhelming case. Some indication of Octavian's outlook during his revolutionary days may be provided by the early poems of Vergil, who is certainly less restrained than after 28/7 in employing the language of deification to express his sentiments towards Octavian.[32] The classic example is the passage in the first *Eclogue*[33] where Vergil refers to Octavian as "a god to me" and one to whom he will offer sacrifice.[34] Such private deification of a force recognised as superhuman is common enough in the Hellenistic period,[35] and the use of the term *deus* as an expression of gratitude banal;[36] but the cult forms portrayed are of particular interest since they are a poetic description of the rites one would expect to find attested epigraphically.[37] Similarly Vergil stresses Octavian's youth, an attribute of deity,[38] though here again the language is not unprecedented and may be ascribable to the influence of the Epicurean circles with whom Vergil is believed to have associated at Naples.[39] How Octavian reacted to all this we have no idea—presumably he could have shown disapproval had he felt so inclined. At all events Vergil was closely attuned to the ideas of Octavian: the 5th and 9th *Eclogues* appear to celebrate Divus Iulius and the child of the 4th *Eclogue* has been interpreted as the symbol of a new age. In general the language of the *Eclogues* reflects the mentality of a period ready to recognise superhumanity and nearness to the gods as exemplified in an exceptional individual.

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[28] See "*Roma et Augustus*", below, p. 126.

[29] Mellor, ΡΩΜΗ (above, Intr. III; note 7) 57 f. See now Wardman, *Religion and Statecraft* (above, Intr. II; note 5) 50.

[30] "Rome and the Ruler Cult", above, pp. 50 f.

[31] P. Lambrechts, "La politique "apollinienne" d'Auguste et le culte impérial", *La Nouvelle Clio* 5 (1953), 65-82 at 68 f.

[32] F. Bömer, "Vergil und Augustus", *Gymnasium* 58 (1951), 26-55 at 32 f.; Taeger, *Charisma* 162 f. For the later attitude of poets see "Augustus and the West"; below, p. 91.

[33] "*O Meliboee, deus nobis haec otia fecit,*
namque erit ille mihi semper deus, illius aram
saepe tener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus." (ll. 6-8)
cf. ... *neque servitio me exire licebat*
nec tam praesentis alibi cognoscere divos. (ll. 40-41).

[34] A different interpretation of the passage is suggested by A. Grisart, "Tityre et son dieu: des identifications nouvelles", *LEC* 34 (1966), 115-142. But see M. C. J. Putnam, *Vergil's Pastoral Art*, Princeton, 1970, 42, n. 18, 68; C. G. Hardie "Octavian and Eclogue I" in B. Levick (ed.), *The Ancient Historian and his Materials. Essays in honour of C. E. Stevens*, Farnborough, 1975, 109-122; G. Picone, "O Meliboee, deus nobis haec otia fecit", *Pan* 6 (1978), 105-114; R. Coleman, *Vergil. Eclogues*, Cambridge, 1977, 73 f.; R. D. Williams, *Vergil. The Eclogues and Georgics*, Basingstoke, 1979, 89-91 with bibl. For an overview of scholarship on the problem see E. Coleiro, *An Introduction to Vergil's Bucolics with a Critical Edition of the Text*, Amsterdam, 1979, 180-197.

[35] A. Bickerman, "Consecratio" in den Boer (ed.) *Le Culte* 3-25 at 7 f.; Liebeschuetz, *Continuity* (above, Intr. II; note 3), 66 f.

About 36, however, it seems possible to detect definite signs of caution. The office of *pontifex maximus*, which strictly speaking he had inherited from Caesar, was now refused by Octavian, who instead allowed Lepidus to continue holding it down to his death in 12 B.C.; no doubt this was to avoid public displeasure should he have broken with Roman custom by deposing Lepidus.[40] More significant are the prerogatives Octavian did accept such as the inviolability of a tribune and the laurel crown, both distinctions that had been given to Caesar. Also a striking honour accorded by the cities of Italy: the main evidence is Appian's statement that in 36 B.C., when he was 28 years old, the Italian municipalities αὐτὸν...τοῖσ σφετέροις θεοῖς συνίδρυον (*Bell. Civ.* 5, 132). The meaning of συνίδρυον has been variously interpreted but must surely mean that Octavian's statue was given a place in the temples of the Italian municipalities.[41] This would compare with the privilege the senate had decreed Caesar in 44, namely that his statue should stand in all the temples of Rome and the (Italian) cities (CD 44, 4, 4),[42] though it is notable that Octavian accepts a similar honour only outside of Rome. We have seen that the word explicitly used by Dio in reporting the earlier senatorial decree is ἀνδριάς, so if the same point is true of Octavian it cannot have been his cult statue that was placed beside that of the god in the municipal temples. One must rather suppose an honorific statue that in theory at least will have been a pious offering to the local deity.[43] In the same way Caesar had put Cleopatra's εἰκών *beside* the cult statue of Venus Genetrix (Appian, *BC* 2, 102), which would explain the term συνίδρυον in *BC* 5, 132. The practice of placing a benefactor's statue in the temple—even by the idol in the *cella*—as a mark of gratitude or honour is well attested[44] and such a gesture would fit well with the aftermath of Naulochus. The fact that Octavian made no objection to such an honour—in his case bestowed spontaneously by the Italian cities—would then be in keeping with the permission he gave for the anniversary of his victory over Sextus Pompeius to be made a public festival on the Hellenistic model.[45]

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[36] "*Isotheoi Timai*" above, p. 28 with note 49; cf. p. 42 with note 74.

[37] Cf. *hic illum vidi iuvenem, Meliboee, quit annis*
bis senos quoi nostra dies altaria fumant, (ll. 42-43).

[38] M. L. Paladini, "L'aspetto dell' imperatore-dio presso i Romani", *Pubblicazioni dell' Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Contributi dell' Istituto di Filologia Classica, Sezione di Storia Antica* 1 (1963), 1-65 at 9 f.

[39] Taylor, *Divinity* 112 f.

[40] *Ibid.* 133 f.

[41] Similarly Dio uses the term ἱδρῦσαι of Agrippa's plan to place a statue of Augustus in the (later) Pantheon (53, 27, 3); cf. Josephus, *Bell.Iud.* 2, 194. This does not seem to have been a cult statue but would nevertheless have put Augustus in the proximity of the gods; see below, note 44. Nock, "Synnaos" (above, Intr. I; note 6) 27, suggests that the phrase might simply mean "gave divine honours to Octavian" or "included his name in prayer formulas", as suggested by G. Wissowa, "Das Prooemium von Virgils' Georgica", *Hermes* 52 (1917), 92-104 at 101.

[42] "Divus Iulius", above, p. 60.

A shift in Octavian's attitude may also underlie the language of the *Georgics*, which Vergil began about this time at the request of Maecenas. Thus the invocation of Octavian in *Georgics* 1, 24-42, written in 36, has a change of emphasis.[46] Apotheosis is now predicted as something that lies ahead in the future (cf. 11. 503 f.) and Octavian is celebrated as one who is preparing on earth his way to heaven; he will appear as a *novum sidus* after death (1.32), though the poet does not know to which circle of the gods he will belong.[47] Even so, Vergil ends by inviting him to get accustomed even now to being called on in men's vows;[48] that is, he seems to suggest divinity may come while Octavian is still on earth.[49] Similarly in *Georgics* 2, 13-25, written before 29 B.C., the monument he will erect to Octavian—his poem—is compared to a temple where Octavian is enshrined and the recipient of cult acts. All this is poetic imagery but the correspondence with the language of private cult in *Eclogues* 1 suggests that Vergil is still ready to cross the fine line between mortality and divinity. It gives a hint of Vergil's private wish that Octavian would accept a more elevated role for himself than what he was now planning but had not yet defined.[50]

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[43] *Ibid.*, p. 59 with note 25; cf. *CIG* 2282. Charlesworth, "Observations" (above, Intr. I; note 11) 26, thinks Octavian was *synnaos.*

[44] For Roman examples see Weinstock, DJ 186 f. Add the *statua* erected by public subscription to Antonius Musa after he cured Augustus; Suetonius reports that this was placed *iuxta signum Aesculapi* (*Aug.* 59).

[45] Degrassi, *InscrIt.* 13, 2; pp. 505 f. (*ad* 3rd September). The precedent was later followed in the honours decreed Octavian by the senate after Actium; see "Augustus and the West", below, p. 84.

[46] "*tuque adeo, quem mox quae sint habitura deorum*
concilia incertum est" (ll. 24-25).

[47] Taeger, *Charisma* 163.

[48] "... *et votis iam nunc adsuesce vocari*" (1. 42)

[49] Palladini (above, note 38) 12 f.

[50] Taylor, *Divinity* 150, compares the attitude of the senate after Actium.

A comparable development in Octavian's thinking can also be traced in his relationship with Apollo.[51] The tale that Octavian had been sired by Apollo, who visited his mother Atia in the form of a snake,[52] is reported to have impressed Caesar, though it will surely have been Octavian who encouraged the belief for its political potential.[53] In any event a link between the *gens Iulia* and Apollo was already implicit in the name Caesar, inherited from an ancestor born by Caesarian section, in as much as all children so born were considered dedicated to Apollo, the god of healing.[54] Whether Octavian was genuinely convinced he was under Apollo's protection is an open question, but political motives were clearly uppermost in his adoption of this very Greek divinity as his protective deity.[55] The *Phoebus domesticus* of Octavian, as Ovid calls him (*Met.* 15, 865), provided a counter to the emphasis of Anthony on Dionysus (above, p. 48) or of Sextus Pompeius on Neptune; for, though Apollo was not a traditional god of the Roman state, he was nevertheless more restrained than the orgiastic Dionysus and a figure tied in some circles to the birth of a new golden age, which Octavian claimed to restore.[56] As a result, Apollo was identified with the sun, so a further analogy could now be drawn between the sun, portrayed by Stoics as the ruler of the celestial bodies, and the earthly ruler, the monarch.[57] Apollo thus emerges as a key symbol for Augustus and the connection between the two became the vehicle of much propaganda.[58] Whichever way the comparison might be stressed—Augustan Apollo or Apollinian Augustus—the basic aim was to associate Augustus with the qualities of his heavenly patron.[59]

Our sources are sufficient to allow one to trace the Apollinian policy in reasonable detail.[60] The most controversial episode is the *cena* δωδεκάθεος belonging to the period after the peace arranged at Brundisium in 40 (Suet.,

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[51] See in general G. G. Belloni, "Significati storico-politici delle figurazione e delle scritte delle monete da Augusto a Traiano", *ANRW* 2, 1 (1974) 997-1144 at 1027-1031.

[52] Suet. *Aug.* 94, 4; CD 45, 1, 2. See in general J. Gagé, *Apollon Romain* (BEFAR 182), Paris, 1955, 467-478. For the connection between the miraculous conception and the constellation of Capricorn, the sign of the zodiac governing the month of January, see *id.*, 570-572; Taylor, *Divinity* 165 f. On one version of the story Octavian was supposedly conceived on 16th January, the day he was later given the name Augustus. For the same tale applied to Alexander see "Hellenistic Ruler Cult", above, p. 8 with note 20.

[53] Alföldi (above, Intr. VI; note 9) 158.

[54] Radke (above, note 11) 264.

[55] Lambrechts, above, note 17; Gagé, *Apollon* (above, note 52) 479-522; Bayet, *Histoire* (above, note 24) 170-172; Alföldi, *Lorbeerbaüme* (above, Intr. V; note 46) 50-54.

[56] See in particular Vergil, *Ecl.* 4, 8-10.

[57] Liebeschuetz, *Continuity* (above, Intr. II; note 3) 84 f. with refs.

[58] In *Ecl.* 5, 65 f. Apollo is linked with the deified Daphnis in yearly vows. For a possible equation between Daphnis and Julius Caesar see Putnam, *Vergil's Pastoral Art* (above, note 34) 188 f.

[59] Wlosok, "Einführung" 38: "Dabei partizipiert der menschlicher Täter an Erhabenheit, Glanz und Macht des Gottes". See further the discussion in "Augustan Gods", below, Vol. II.

[60] See now J. Gagé, "Apollon impérial, garant des "Fata Romana", "*ANRW* 2, 17, 2 (1981) 561-630 at 562-564.

Aug. 70).[61] Gossip rumoured that Octavian turned up as Apollo at a banquet where the other guests were dressed as Olympians. If the tale is not to be dismissed as apocryphal tittle-tattle,[62] the best explanation may be that Octavian was celebrating his patron god in Hellenistic fashion by assuming the role of the deity.[63] By borrowing the god's attributes Octavian could parade the qualities of Apollo and stress the connection of the god with his protégé. In any event the incident must have reminded people of the rite of the *lectisternium*[64] and certainly made a bad impression on public opinion as some scurrilous verses of the period reveal. Emphasis on Apollo nevertheless runs throughout the triumviral period beginning with Philippi, when Apollo was the watchword of the Caesarian forces.[65] The importance of Apollo in the *Eclogues* is paralleled by the representation of Apollo's symbols on coins of 37 at a time when Octavian evidently belonged to the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*[66]—these consulted the Sibylline books and oversaw cults such as that of Apollo at Rome—also by his acceptance of the crown of laurel, the tree of Apollo.[67] Again, when lightning struck the place on the Palatine where he intended to erect a residence, he consecrated the land for a future temple of Apollo (CD 49, 15, 5).

The policy reached a climax with the victory of Actium won in the neighbourhood of the sanctuary of Apollo Actius. Actium was officially conceived as the crucial event that secured the empire and restored peace to the world, and victory was ascribed to divine help, particularly that of Apollo—an outlook commemorated in a later elegy of Propertius (4, 6);[68] the victory was marked by the extension of the old sanctuary, the foundation of Nicopolis nearby, and the institution of quinquennial games.[69] In Asia Minor Octavian was even prepared to strike coins showing a head of himself, remarkably like that of Apollo, wearing the triumphal laurel crown but with ends joined rather than hanging down;[70] significantly, these issues come to an end in 27. The temple of Apollo itself was finally dedicated on 9th October, 28 B.C., next door to Augustus' own house on the Palatine (CD 53, 1, 3). On the doors of the temple was portrayed Apollo Vindex, a clear reference to Actium, yet the cult idol within the temple depicted him playing the cithera, that is as the god of a world of music, a peaceful world.[71] Of particular interest is the fact that porticoes were attached, containing a library (Suet., *Aug.* 29, 3) in which, we are told, stood a statue of Augustus *habitu ac statu Apollinis.*[72] A statue of Augustus with the attributes of Apollo will have reflected the same outlook as Octavian's appearance costumed as Apollo at the banquet of the Twelve Gods and may be compared to the common practice on coins of portraying an emperor with divine attributes.[73] What is significant in this case is that the statue was kept apart from the temple, unlike Octavian's statues in the temples of the Italian municipalities in 36. Nevertheless it was there[74] and the comparison of Augustus with Apollo was a point contemporaries could hardly have missed.

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[61] H. Heinen, "Zur Begründung des römischen Kaiserkultes", *Klio* 11 (1911), 129-177 at 140, n. 3 with refs.; Taylor, *Divinity* 119; H. G. Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung der römischen Kaiser* (Monumenta Artis Romanae 7), Berlin, 1968, 54, nn. 448 f., with refs.

[62] So Weinstock, *DJ* 15; cf. M. P. Charlesworth, *CR* 46 (1932), 226.

[63] "Isotheoi Timai", above, p. 30; Bayet, *Histoire* 171.

[64] Cf. M. Rostovtzeff, "L'empereur Tibère et le culte impérial", *Rev. Hist.* 163 (1930), 15.

[65] Taylor, *Divinity* 120; Liebeschuetz *Continuity* 82 f.

[66] Crawford, *RRC* nos. 537 f., cf. 2, p. 744.

[67] Alföldi, above, note 55.

[68] Fears, *Princeps* (above, Intr. II; note 25) 125; Wlosok "Einführung" 37 f. See further "Augustus and the West", below, p. 87, note 32.

[69] Suet., *Aug.* 18; CD 51, 1, 2-3; Strabo 7, 7, 6; Gagé, "Apollon impérial" (above, note 60) 563, n. 1.

[70] J. Liegle, "Die Münzprägung Octavians und die augusteische Kunst", *JDAI* 56 (1941), 91-119 at 91-96, 118 f.; Alföldi, *Lorbeerbaüme* (above, Intr. V; note 46) 50 f. with bibl. For *cistophori* of 28 B.C. stressing the connection with Apollo *vindex* see Wlosok, "Einführung" 38, n. 91 *ad* D. Mannsperger, "Apollon gegen Dionysos. Numismatische Beiträge zu Oktavien's

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Rolle als Vindex Libertatis", *Gymnasium* 80 (1973), 381-404. See now A. Rainer, *Das Bild des Augustus auf den frühen Reichsprägungen. Studien zur Vergöttlichung des ersten Prinzeps* (Schriftenreihe der Numismatischen Gesellschaft Speyer 21) Speyer am Rhein, 1981, 21-38; cf. 150. He takes *BMC* 1, 638 to show a head of Apollo (37 f).

[71] A. Wlosok, *Die Göttin Venus in Vergil's Aeneis*, Heidelberg, 1967, 136 f.; Gagé, "Apollon impérial" (above, note 52) 566-569.

[72] Pseudo-Acron *ad* Horace, *Ep.* 1, 3, 17. Similarly Servius, *ad* Vergil, *Ecl.* 4, 10, mentions a statue of Augustus *cum Apollinis cunctis insignibus*—whether the same or another is unclear. See Lambrecht's discussion (above, note 31) 66 f. Both pieces of evidence are rejected as untrustworthy by S. Weinstock, "The Image and Chair of Germanicus", *JRS* 47 (1957), 144-154 at 145 f.

[73] "*Isotheoi Timai*", above, p. 29, note 55.

[74] A. Alföldi, "Die zwei Lorbeerbaüme des Augustus" in Wlosok, (ed.) *Kaiserkult* 403-422 at 420.

VIII. AUGUSTUS AND THE WEST

The fact that the statue, though strongly associating the emperor with Apollo, was nevertheless in the library—that is, in a securely secular context—may well reflect the new tone of moderation which is increasingly apparent in the overall policy of Octavian. By the victory of Actium, 2nd September 31 B.C., he had succeeded to Caesar's position as master of the Roman world. But with his sound grasp of political realities the new ruler saw that it would be necessary to find an accommodation with the forces that had been in opposition to Caesar and longed for the old Republic. Though he might follow up some of Caesar's ideas, as Weinstock's study has shown, Octavian would have to set himself at a distance from Caesar, a political dictate that more than any religious consideration could explain why Caesar was not the first of the *divi.*[1] Yet it was just as essential for Octavian as it had been for Caesar that an appropriate religious basis should be found for the position he had won by conquest. The practice of the contemporary world required that the attachment of the subject to the ruler should be grounded in a cult;[2] it was for this reason that Caesar had consented to personal sacralization. But, though worship in one form or another was a political necessity,[3] a formal state cult such as had been accorded Hellenistic rulers would have looked monarchical and invited disaster. For one who claimed to defend Roman tradition and wanted, so he professed, to be merely *princeps* in a restored Republic it was out of the question to turn openly in that direction. Whatever religious honours he could allow would have to be consistent with the constitutional settlement of 28/27 B.C. and, if at all possible, in line with the observances of the Republic.

The result was the adoption of a policy in Rome, differently devised for different sections of the society, which prohibited the direct worship of himself[4] while leaving room for wide-ranging honours that to all appearances put the

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[1] Habicht, "Augusteische Zeit" (above, Intr. III; note 7) 53 f. The festivals of Caesar nevertheless remained in the calendar: Herz, "Kaiserfeste" (above, Intr. III; note 31) 1150.

[2] Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* (above, Intr. V; note 46) 44.

[3] Liebeschuetz, *Continuity* (above, Intr. II; note 3) 67 f., 76.

[4] Dio records that Augustus would not even allow a statue of himself to be set up by Agrippa in a building he intended to name after the emperor (the later Pantheon). Instead the statue was placed in the *pronaos* alongside one of Agrippa—clear definition of the emperor's status as a man—while in the temple was placed a statue of Divus Iulius along with statues of Mars and Venus (53, 27, 2 f.). Augustus thus refused in Rome the honour he appears to have earlier accepted in the temples of Italian municipalities. See "Gaius Iulius Caesar Octavianus" above, p. 78. The same outlook lies behind Augustus' action in melting down eighty silver statues that had been set up to himself in Rome: *RG* 24, 2; Suet., *Aug.* 52. The objection here was to the precious metal which could have been conceived as a divine honour; see further "Liturgy and Ceremonial" below, Vol. II.

Roman emperor on a par with Hellenistic monarchs. In the first place Octavian found it expedient to accept a long list of *isotheoi timai*, some of which had already been bestowed upon Caesar:[5] state festivals celebrating his *natalis*, the major events of his career, his victories and his various *adventus* on returning to Rome from abroad;[6] special respect too for his Julian patronymic,[7] a form of honour that culminated in the name Augustus granted by the senate on 16th January, 27 B.C.[8] To apply the name to the month of Sextilis was a shrewd stroke since it was on 1st August that Octavian had triumphed at Alexandria.[9] Already in 30 B.C. the senate had decreed that offerings of wine should be poured to his *genius* at all banquets public and private (CD 15, 19, 7),[10] a provision with which the Genius Augusti began its intrusion into private cult.[11] But the major innovation came in 7 B.C. In reviving the cult of the Lares Compitales, which had fallen into neglect under the late Republic, Augustus set the image of his own *genius* between the statues of the dancing Lares at the crossroads, an association henceforth known as the Lares Augusti.[12] The emperor now had at his disposal a combination of republican practices that provided an unobjectionable medium for the indirect worship of himself at street level.[13]

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[5] Weinstock, *DJ* passim.

[6] Weinstock, *DJ* 209 f.; Herz, "Kaiserfeste" 1147-1150. For the birthday of Augustus as a new *dies natalis* of temples see P. Gros, *Aurea Templa* (BEFAR), Paris, 1976, 32 f.

[7] For Dio's mention of the Julian tribe (29 B.C.) and the Julian *Saepta* on the Campus Martius (26 B.C.) see Weinstock, *DJ* 158-162. The inclusion of Octavian's name in the *Carmen Saliare* is mentioned by Augustus in *RG* 10, 1 and specifically noted by Dio as *isotheos* (51, 20, 1). For a more moderate view see A. D. Nock, *Gnomon* 8 (1932), 516; further M. Le Glay, "Le culte de Rome et de Salus à Pergame" in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens* (Festschrift Karl Dörner), Leiden, 1978, 554, n. 41.

[8] The word was of religious import and suggested divine characteristics without specifically calling him divine. For discussion see L. R. Taylor, "Livy and the Name Augustus", *CR* 32 (1918), 158-161; *eadem*, *Divinity* 158-160; P. A. Brunt and J. M. Moore, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, Oxford, 1970, 77 f.; Fears, *Princeps* (above, Intr. II; note 25) 119, n. 57 with bibl.; *id.*, "The Cult of Jupiter and Roman Imperial Ideology", *ANRW* 2, 17, 1 (1981) 3-141 at 57, n. 262; add F. Müller, "Augustus", *Meded. Koninkl. Acad. Wetenschap., Afdel. Letterk.* A 11 (1927) 245-347. Note that the word is translated into Greek by σεβαστός, a title rather than a name. For the date of the senate's decree see Degrassi, *InscrIt.* 13, 2, p. 400.

[9] Weinstock, *DJ* 155-158, noting that apart from 1st August, the festival of Victoria, the month was notable for its many connections with Caesar. For Victoria see "*Roma et Augustus*" below, pp. 113-118. For the re-naming of the mouth Sextilis in 8 rather than 27 B.C. see A.B. Bosworth, "Augustus and August: Some Pitfalls of Historical Fiction", *HSCP* 86 (1982), 151-170 at 164-166.

[10] The libation seems to have been obligatory to all classes and must in effect have fostered loyalty at every level of society. For discussion see Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* (above, Intr. V; note 46) 8, no. 30 with bibl., 24 f., 56; cf. *Gnomon* 47 (1975), 166 f.; Liebeschuetz, *Continuity* (above, Intr. II; note 3) 68 f. Dio states that the libation was poured to Octavian himself, but this has generally been taken to mean an offering to the emperor's *genius*; see further "Genius and Numen", note 2, Vol. II. For the vessels from which libations were poured see V. von Gonzenbach, "*Genius Augusti-Theos Sebastos*", *Stockholm St. in Class. Arch.* (Festschrift C. Kerényi) 5 (1968), 81-117. Despite the fact that the *natalis* was the day when a man's *genius* was honoured, there appear to have been no offerings to the emperor's *genius* at the public celebration of his *natalis*: Weinstock, *DJ* 215.

[11] For the cult traditionally paid to the *genius* of the *paterfamilias* see in general Weinstock, *DJ* 205; H. Kunkel, *Der römische Genius*, (MDAI[R] Ergänzungsheft 20), Heidelberg, 1974; D. G. Orr, "Roman Domestic Religion: The Evidence of the Household Shrines", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1557-1591, especially 1569-1575. For the cult of the Lares see Bömer-Herz, "*Untersuchungen*" (above, Intr. V, note 38) 199 (zu S. 32) with bibl.; cf. 200 (zu S. 38).

A further side to the same policy was to promote the cult of abstractions directly linked with the emperor.[14] Abstractions were of the greatest political value since they kept the monarch before people's minds by parading his qualities or the blessings conferred by his rule.[15] The full development of the process lay in the future but the origins of this auxiliary form of cult certainly go back to the reign of Augustus. First in importance was to emphasize the personal qualities that were integral to his public image as the good ruler or statesman and were conspicuously inscribed on the shield he received in 27 B.C.[16] Other abstractions, more properly blessings than virtues, look to have begun their career in the period immediately following: Victoria Augusta, a key element in imperial ideology;[17] Pax Augusta, the personification of the peace brought by submission to Roman imperialism;[18] Concordia Augusta, harmony within the imperial family;[19] perhaps also Augustan Salus,[20] Fortuna[21] and Felicitas.[22] The final step was the attribution to Augustus of *numen*, the quality appropriate to and peculiar of a god.[23] Such a distinction had never been accorded a man before in Roman religious practice and with the dedication by Tiberius of the Ara Numinis Augusti *ca.* A.D. 6,[24] the

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[12] For background and details see Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 18-30 with vast bibliography. Alföldi notes, *o.c.* 47, that there is no trace of the Lares Augusti on coins. See further Hopkins, *Conquerors* (above, Intr. IV; note 75) 211 f.; *Liebeschuetz, Continuity*, 70 f.; D. Ladage, "Soziale Aspekte des Kaiserkults" in W. Eck, H. Galsterer, H. Wolff (edd.), *Studien zur antiken Sozialgeschichte* (Festschrift F. Vittinghof), Cologne, 1980, 377-388 at 379 f. For the precedent of M. Marius Gratidianus see "Rome and the Ruler Cult", above, p. 54. The term Lares Augusti is already attested at Betriacum in 59 B.C. (*CIL* 5, 4087 = Degrassi, *ILLRP* 200).

[13] For an upper-class dimension to the cult see monuments of the early empire showing the young princes of the dynasty bearing the three statuettes of the Lares and the Genius Augusti in processions at festivals: Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 28 f. with Tafeln VI, VII, VIII: cf. Bömer-Herz, *o.c.* (above, Intr. V; note 38) 201 (zu S. 40). But essentially this was a cult of the little people who had earlier been prominent in tending the Lares Compitales, the freedmen who served as the four annual *magistri* of each *vicus* and their four slave *ministri*. On the monuments erected by the *vicomagistri* see Alföldi, *ibid.* 30 ff. with Tafeln IX-XV; I. Scott-Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (MAAR 22), Rome, 1955, 55-63; P. Zanker, "Über die Werkstätten augusteischer Larenaltäre und damit zusammenhängende Probleme der Interpretation", *BCAR* 82 (1970/71), 147-155. Two of the altars are reproduced in *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 914, 916, cf. 930. Outside of Rome traces of the cult appear at Ostia: M. F. Squarciapino, "*L'ara dei Lari di Ostia*", *Arch. Class.* 4 (1952), 204-208; H. Bloch, "A Monument of the Lares Augusti in the forum of Ostium", *HThR* 55 (1962), 211-233. For the influence of the Lares Augusti upon the household *lararia* of Pompeii see Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 55 f.; Orr (above, note 11) 1575-1585; for street shrines at Ostia see *ibid.*, 1584 f. with n. 186 and refs. Organisations concerned with the combined Lares of the household and the emperor's Genius are attested by *cultores Larum Aug./Larum et Imaginum domus Augustae* and similar colleges: *Diz. Epig.* 2, 2 (1910) (1961) 1296 f. s.v. *cultores* (Breccia); Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 26 f. with bibl.: he suggests that such associations will have been state-recognized and encouraged, cf. Tac., *Ann.* 1, 73. See further Bömer-Herz, 203 (zu. S 48 f.), 204 (zu. S 51), 214 (zu S 94); Ladage (above, note 12) 380-382.

[14] See now Fears, "Cult of Virtues" (above, Intr. III; note 43) 844 ff. with bibl. 842, n. 67. For the imprecision of the commonly used terms "abstraction" and "personification" see *ibid.* 830-832.

[15] In theological terms Augustus now had deified abstractions as his tutelary companions or immanent within him as a kind of vessel, depending on how a particular abstraction was imagined. See in detail "Augustan Blessings and Virtues" below, Vol. II.

[16] L. Wickert, *RE* 22 (1954) 2222-2234 s.v. *Princeps*; *id.*, "Neue Forschungen zum römischen Principat", *ANRW* 2, 1, (1974) 59-69; Bayet, *Histoire* (above, Intr. VII; note 24) 183 f.; I. Scott

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Ryberg, "Clupeus Virtutis" in *The Classical Tradition* (Studies in Honor of H. Caplan), Ithaca, 1966, 232-238. For the Hellenic and Republican background see Fears, "Cult of Virtues" 875-884. Of these traditional Republican virtues only the cult of Iustitia is attested at the very end of his life (A.D. 13): Latte, *RRG* 300, n. 4 with refs.; Weinstock, *DJ* 247 f.; Degrassi, *InscrIt.* 13, 2, 392 f. Not until the reign of Tiberius do we hear of altars of Pietas: Weinstock, *DJ* 255 f.; Fears, *ibid.* 891 f.; Scott-Ryberg, *Rites* 66; also of Providentia: *CIL* 11, 4170 (Interamna); M. P. Charlesworth, "Providentia and Aeternitas", *HThR* 29 (1936), 107-132; Scott-Ryberg, *Rites* 64 f., 80, n. 59. But see now a new fragment of the Arval *Acta* for A.D. 38 giving the date 26th June for the sacrifice offered at the altar of Augustan Providence (cf. Henzen, *AFA* 75 f.), also the location of the altar on the *Campus Agrippae*. For discussion and references see "The Altar of Providentia on Coins of Emerita", below, Appendix II. Weinstock, *DJ* 233 believes Caesar may have planned a cult of Virtues but apart from the *clupeus virtutis* itself there seems no trace of Virtus under Augustus. Similarly, a temple of Clementia on the model of that which the senate decreed for Caesar in 45 B.C. is conspicuously absent; Weinstock *o.c.* 233 f., 241.

[17] See "*Roma et Augustus*" below, pp. 115 ff., stressing the role of Victory in legitimizing the rule of Augustus; cf. Fears, "Theology of Victory" (above, Intr. IV; note 56) 812 ff.

[18] Degrassi, *InscrIt* 13, 2, p. 279; *Feriale Cumanum ad* 30th January; Fears "Theology of Victory" 806 f. On the ideology of Augustan Peace see H. E. Stier, "Augustusfriede und römische Klassik", *ANRW* 2, 2 (1975) 3-54 at 16 ff. For the "constitution" of the Ara Pacis Augustae see "*Templum Divo Claudio Constitutum*", below, Vol. I, 2, pp. 203-210. Weinstock, *o.c.* 269, supposes Caesar planned a cult of *Pax* and declared his intention when the building of the temple of *Concordia Nova* was decreed.

[19] Degrassi, *InscrIt* 13, 2, p. 114: *Fasti Praenestini ad* 16th January, cf. 398-400; Latte, *RRG* 322, n. 2; Weinstock, *DJ* 265 f. See in general Fears, "Theology of Victory" 741, nn. 6 f.; *id.*, "Cult of Virtues", 886.

[20] Salus Augusta first appears under Tiberius, but the grant of the civic crown *ob cives servatos* (see "*Roma et Augustus*", below, p. 108) and the statue of the republican goddess Salus Publica in 11 B.C. could point to an Augustan creation: Weinstock, *o.c.* 171 f., 174. On his supposed temple of *Salus Caesaris* see Alföldi (above, Intr. VI; note 9) 164; J. A. North (above, Intr. VI; note 6) 174.

[21] A prototype for the Fortuna Augusti, first attested under Galba, might be seen in the altar of Fortuna Redux (19 B.C.); Weinstock, *o.c.* 127; North, *ibid.* Alföldi, *o.c.* 162 doubts an earlier Fortuna Caesaris. See now I. Kajanto, "Fortuna", *ANRW* 2, 17, 1 (1981) 502-558 at 517 f. For the related virtue of Spes Augusta, the origins of which reach back to the reign of Augustus, see now M. E. Clark, "Spes in the Early Imperial Cult: "The Hope of Augustus", *Numen* 30 (1983), 80-105.

[22] *Felicitas Tiberi* appears on the swordsheath from Mainz: Weinstock, *o.c.* 112; cf. T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana*, Mainz, 1967, 112-115. For *Felicitas Caesaris* see *ibid.* 118, 127.

[23] See "Genius and Numen", below, Vol. II; further W. Pötscher, "'*Numen*' and '*Numen Augusti*'", *ANRW* 2, 16, 1 (1978) 354-392, especially 380 ff.

[24] Degrassi, *InscrIt* 13, 2, p. 115: *Fasti Praenestini ad* 17th January. For the year see Alföldi's persuasive argument, *Lorbeerbäume* 42-44. See further Addenda, p. 184.

emperor came perceptibly closer to the full divinity that was already foreshadowed in the title *divi filius* or *Augustus.* Significantly the open recognition that Augustus was not a man like other men belongs to the close of his reign. Just a few years earlier (2 B.C) he had accepted the title *pater patriae,* which with its overtones of *patria potestas* was a major step in the direction of monarchy—away from the concept of *princeps.*[25] Evidently by this time Augustus felt politically secure.[26]

In practice, however, the special status of Augustus at the pinnacle of human kind had already been foreshadowed by his close association with a select group of state deities. In time most deities were to be related to the emperor by the epithet *Augustus,* but in Augustus' own case the main emphasis was on the divinities that legitimized his rule or had played a role in his own rise to power.[27] Hence the completion of the Forum Iulium[28] and the dedication of the temple of Divus Iulius (29 B.C.) on the site of Caesar's cremation,[29] also the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor (2 B.C.),[30] clear indication of Augustus' intention to promote Mars to a position alongside Jupiter.[31] Even so a major role was still assigned to Apollo as the god who had brought about a new world order.[32] Though open comparison of Augustus with Apollo was incompatible with the policy developed in 28/7 B.C.,[33] it is significant that the Secular Games of 17 B.C.,[34] the most important religious event of the early empire, culminated in a ceremony at the temple of Apollo[35] and that Apollo rather than Jupiter was chiefly invoked in the *carmen saeculare* sung both on the Capitol and on the Palatine.[36] Other major deities tend to be overshadowed;[37] but, though Jupiter is not accorded the same prominence as Apollo or Mars (cf. Suet., Aug. 91, 2), Augustus nevertheless consecrated three temples to him (*RG* 19, 2) and poetry, sculpture and gems portray Augustus as the terrestrial image of Jupiter or commemorate the role of Jupiter along with Apollo in the victory at Actium, a theme also found on coins.[38] In contrast the link between Augustus and Mercury seems never to have been exploited in official propaganda[39] and such traces as we have in art, inscriptions or poetry look to be examples of purely private thinking.[40]

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[25] Alföldi, *Vater* (above, Intr. V; note 51) 93-98.

[26] Cf. his attendance in A.D. 14 at the games celebrated at Naples: Price, "Sacrifice" (above, Intr. II; note 10) 34, n. 67 with refs; also his reaction to spontaneous homage at Puteoli just before he died (Suet., *Aug.* 98, 2, 5). See further Addenda, p. 187.

[27] Latte, *RRG* 302-306. The policy was nothing new: Sulla, Caesar and Sextus Pompeius had likewise linked themselves with particular deities; cf. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity* 82, n. 4 with refs. Similarly Trajan was to be associated with Zeus and Heracles and Septimius Severus with Serapis. On Trajan see Beaujeu, *Rel. Rom.* 71-87; *id.*, "Politique religieuse et propagande numismatique sous le Haut-Empire" in R. Chevallier (ed.), *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire offerts à André Piganiol,* Paris, 1966, 1529-1540 especially 1533 f. For Serapis see "The Severi and the Provincial Cult of the Three Gauls", below, Vol. I, 2, pp. 339 f.

[28] As this was the site of the temple of Venus Genetrix, the work drew public attention to Octavian's own connection with the divine ancestry of Caesar; Weinstock, *DJ* 80-87; Hölscher, *Victoria* (above, note 22)150.

[29] The event marked Octavian's return from the East in 29 B.C., splendidly celebrated on the model of Caesar's return and triumph in 46 B.C.: Weinstock, *DJ* 399 f., cf. 76.

[30] By genealogical manipulation Mars had been made the consort of Venus, whose cult statue along with that of Divus Iulius was also housed in the temple; cf. the similar arrangement in the Pantheon (above, note 4); also a *supplicatio* to Mars Ultor and Venus [Genetrix] prescribed for some unknown occasion at Cumae: Degrassi, *InscrIt* 13, 2, p. 279. By dedicating the temple, first vowed on the field of Philippi and designed as one of the major sanctuaries of Rome, Augustus could develop the legend of his own divine ancestry and at the same time honour the god who had helped avenge his father's murderers. See Bayet, *Histoire* (above, Intr. VII; note 24) 177; Weinstock, *DJ* 128 f.; and in general J. H. Croon, "Die Ideologie des Marskultes unter dem Principat und ihre Vorgeschichte", *ANRW,* 2, 17, 1 (1981) 246-275 at 250 ff.; Wardman, *Religion and Statecraft* (above, Intr. II; note 5) 69.

[31] Radke, "Augustus" (above, Intr. VII; note 11) 266 ff.; Weinstock, *DJ* 132; Liebeschuetz, *Continuity* 86 f.; Fears "Cult of Jupiter" (above, note 8) 60-62.

[32] For continued emphasis upon Apollo see Vergil, *Aen.* 8, 704 ff. and Propertius 4, 6 (*ca.* 16 B.C.)—in effect a veiled comparison of Augustus with Apollo; cf. W. Eisenhut, "Die Einleitungsverse der Elegie IV 6 des Properz", *Hermes* 84 (1956), 121-128. Note also that on melting down the silver statues of himself that had been set up in Rome (above, note 4) Augustus used the money coined from them to dedicate gold tripods to Palatine Apollo.

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[33] See "Gaius Iulius Caesar Octavianus", above, p. 82; cf. 83.

[34] For the background see Weinstock, *DJ* 191-197.

[35] The temple was also given custody of the Sibylline books, perhaps earlier than in 12 B.C. when Augustus became Pontifex Maximus; so J. Gagé, "Apollon impérial" (above, p. 80; note 60) 570. For the prominence of Apollo Actius on coins of this period see "*Roma et Augustus*", below, p. 117.

[36] Lambrechts, "Politique 'apollinienne'" (above, Intr. VII, note 31) 72 f.; Radke, "Augustus" 270-273; Bayet, *Histoire* 178; Brunt and Moore (above, note 8) 64 f.; Liebeschuetz, *Continuity* 83. For the background of the secular games see P. Brind' Amour, "L'origine des Jeux Séculaires", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1334-1417. For the apparent failure of Augustus to popularize Apollo at Rome see A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche*, Darmstadt, 1970, 223, noting that only Nero among later emperors repeated his experiment.

[37] In 12 B.C. Augustus declared part of his house on the Palatine public property (CD 54, 27, 3) and dedicated there an altar and statue of Vesta but not apparently a temple: Degrassi, *InscrIt* 13, 2, p. 452; *id.*, "Esistette sul Palatino un tempio di Vesta?", *MDAI(R)* 62 (1955), 144-154; H. G. Kolbe, "Noch einmal Vesta auf dem Palatin", *MDAI(R)* 73/4 (1966/7), 94-104; Weinstock, *DJ* 277 f.; G. Radke, "Die dei penates und Vesta in Rom", *ANRW* 2, 17, 1 (1981) 343-373 at 363. For the suggestion that the association with Vesta may imply it is the princeps who now assures the eternity of Rome and her empire see H. U. Instinsky, "Kaiser und Ewigkeit", *Hermes* 77 (1942), 313-355 at 322. On the interpretation of Wissowa, *RuKR*[2] 77, the household gods of Augustus now became State gods; cf. Taylor, *Divinity* 184. If so, the point will have been made more explicit in A.D. 3, when the whole of his house was made *aedes publica* following its reconstruction after a fire (CD 55, 12, 5).

[38] M. M. Ward, "The Association of Augustus with Jupiter", *SMSR* 9 (1933), 203-224; Radke, *Augustus* 265 f.; Fears, *Princeps* (above, Intr. II; note 25) 206-213. On the 'honoured insignificance' of Jupiter see now *id.*, "Cult of Jupiter" (above, note 8) 56-66. The most important link between Augustus and Jupiter is the analogy implicit in the title *pater patriae.* See Alföldi, "Vater" (above, Intr. V; note 51) 122-124, citing Horace, *Odes* 1, 12, 49 ff.; 3, 5, 1 ff.; Ovid, *Met.* 15, 858 ff. ...*pater est et rector uterque*; further below, "*Roma et Augustus*", p. 108, note 75.

[39] Though the *caduceus* was to become an imperial symbol of peace and prosperity, there were political reasons why Augustus should be reserved about Mercury. Anthony's propaganda had poked malicious fun at the fact that Augustus had ancestors on either side who were artisans, merchants or money-changers; so too close a comparison with a deity who was also a god of commerce could be embarrassing for one who was *divi filius*: T. Gesztelyi, "Mercury and Augustus", *ACD* 9 (1973), 77-81.

[40] Scott-Ryberg, *Rites* 38 f. with refs.; cf. E. Bickerman, "Consecratio" in den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte* 3. See further, "Augustan Gods", below, Vol. II. Horace's identification of Augustus with

The proximity of Augustus to the gods was further emphasized by the post of Pontifex Maximus, to which he finally succeeded in 12 B.C.[41] As the culminating religious honour of his career,[42] the office enabled him to deal with the gods[43] and was a significant step towards the sacralization of his own person. Henceforward the chief pontificate was to be a function of the emperor with a place in his titulature almost as an attribute.[44] Finally the special status of Augustus was underlined by the fact that it was no longer the state so much as the *princeps* that now became the focal point of the state religion. In addition to the growing number of imperial anniversaries that were observed in the calendar (above, p. 84), it is clear that many occasions were also celebrated by *supplicationes*, in which all citizens might participate;[45] with their associated games and banquets these must have been an effective means of focusing attention on the person of the ruler.[46] The same purpose was also served by the enlargement and re-direction of the public *vota pro salute rei publicae*. Vows for the *salus* of the *princeps* were first decreed for Octavian in 30 B.C. and subsequently performed annually in Rome by the consuls and doubtless all priesthoods; in the provinces governors performed a

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Mercury as *filius Maiai* (*Odes* 1, 2, 43) must be a personal notion possibly conceived against the background of uncertainty regarding the emperor's intentions in 28-27 B.C., but influenced, no doubt, by ideas rooted in Hellenistic ruler cult. See the apt remarks of Nisbet and Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book I*, Oxford, 1970, 34-36; further Nock, "Notes" (above, Intr. II; note 76) 34 (= *Essays* 147); *id.*, "Studies" (above, Intr. III, note 35) 94, n. 84 (= *Essays* 44, n. 84). On the interpretation of Horace see now B. Combet Farnoux, "Mercure romain, les 'Mercuriales' et l'institution du culte impérial sous le Principat augustéen", *ANRW* 2, 17, 1 (1981) 457-501 at 487 ff.

[41] The statement in *RG* 10, 2 that Augustus was elected chief pontiff conflicts with Dio's report (44, 5, 3) that the decree of 44 B.C. provided for the office to pass by inheritance to Caesar's son or adopted son. For commentary see Weinstock, *DJ* 33 f.; Brunt and Moore (above, note 8) 52 f.

[42] For earlier religious honours held by Augustus see *RG* 7, 3 with the commentary of Brunt and Moore 49 f.; further J. Gagé, "Les sacerdoces d'Auguste et ses réformes religieuses" *MEFR* 48 (1931), 75-108; Bayet, "Prodromes" (above, Intr. VI; note 3) 427-431; cf. id., "Les sacerdoces romains et la prédivinisation impériale", *BAB* 5e sér 41 (1955), 453-527.

[43] Radke, *Augustus* 276 f. As head of the most prestigious religious college of the state Augustus saw, for example, to the detailed regulations for the temple of Mars Ultor (CD 55, 10, 2-5) or the revival of the office of *flamen Dialis* (CD 54, 36, 1). See further Beaujeu, "Politique religieuse" (above, note 27) 1531.

[44] The fact that the office in a sense now became the personal possession of the emperor is shown by the circumstance that instead of descending to the forum, where stood the *regia* beside the *atrium Vestae*, Augustus continued to live on the Palatine in his own house: Scott-Ryberg, *Rites* 49 f.; Weinstock, *DJ* 278.

[45] R. O. Fink, A. S. Hoey, W. F. Snyder, *The Feriale Duranum*, *YCS* 7 (1940), 193 f.; Liebeschuetz, *Continuity* 80 f. For the issuance of wine and incense to the people see "Liturgy and Ceremonial", below Vol. II. The practice may be illustrated on a sepulchral relief from Brescia, Scott-Ryberg, *Rites* 100 f with fig. 49a.

[46] The *Res Gestae* mentions a total of fifty-five supplications to the gods on behalf of Augustus' own victories or victories won under his auspices (*RG* 4, 2). See in general G. *Freyburger, "La supplication d'action de grâces sous le Haut-Empire"*, *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1418-1439, especially 1437 f.; Wardman, *Religion and Statecraft* (above, Intr. II; note 5) 94.

similar ceremony in the presence of local officials and priests.[47] Eventually the day was detached from 1st January, when vows for the state still continued, and fixed *ca.* A.D. 38 on 3rd January, which then became a day of universal prayer on behalf of the emperor and his house.[48]

The central elements of the overall policy Augustus devised stand out sharply and clearly.[49] With its emphasis on Republican forms, key abstractions, and the worship of state gods closely related to the ruler, what all this amounted to was the cult of the emperor by other than direct means. In life it was sufficient that the head of state should be sacralized by his priesthoods and festivals, superhumanized by his titles *divi filius* and *Augustus*, above all by the attribution of *numen.*[50] Officially divinity was something Augustus would attain only after death, but unofficially there are signs he was not averse to the more open ascription of divinity to himself already in his lifetime. If we leave aside the imagery of the *Gemma Augustea*,[51] the most obvious reflection of what may be termed unofficial policy is the charismatic language of the court poets,[52] whose compositions give the impression that such "poetic licence" was condoned by a patron ready to look the other way should they depart from an inspired reticence.[53] Outside of Rome, on the other hand, whether in Italy or the provinces, the subjects of Augustus were free to worship as they chose, at least at the municipal and private level. From the rich variety of cult forms it seems clear that the regime adopted a general attitude of laissez-faire[54] and that communites[55] and individuals[56] paid divine honours or founded cults at will, even if these overstepped the boundaries the emperor had laid down. The collective worship of a province was another matter and prudence required that provincial cults should closely adhere to official guidelines.[57] Such was the plan of Augustus, a design destined to be followed by his successors on the throne for the next two and a half centuries, if with occasional aberrations.[58] It forms the background to the development of the imperial cult both in the Greek East and in the Latin West and must be constantly kept in mind in any assessment of the succeeding development of the imperial worship or the varying aspects of cult theory and practice.

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[47] Weinstock, *DJ* 217-219; Liebeschuetz, *Continuity* 65, 79; Price, "Sacrifice" (above, Intr. II; note 10) 33 with n. 54 and refs.; Fears, "Cult of Jupiter" (above, note 8) 63 f., 98 f., noting that the most important function of Jupiter in Augustan religious ideology was as the recipient of *vota* on behalf of the *princeps.*

[48] Hence the great number of inscriptions *pro salute imperatoris*: Herz, *Festkalender*, (above, Intr. III; note 31) 80 f. For the importance of the emperor's *salus* see H. U. Instinsky, "Kaiser Nero und die Mainzer Jupitersäule", *JRGZ* (Mainz) 6 (1959), 128-141 at 134 ff. Augustus also mentions that all the citizens offered prayers at all the *pulvinaria*, both individually and on behalf of their towns, *pro valetudine mea* (*RG* 9, 2). There were republican precedents for this practice in the public vows made in Italy (but not in Rome) for the recovery of M. Livius Drusus in 91 B.C. or of Pompey in 50 B.C., also in the official vows made in Rome in 44 B.C. for the recovery of A. Hirtius. The key point is what Cicero said of the younger Scipio, of Pompey, and of Caesar in 46: the welfare of the state depended upon the well-being of one man—Augustus; cf. Weinstock, *DJ* 219 f. with refs. For the possibility that the earlier reference (9, 1) to four-yearly vows *pro valetudine mea* (subsequently fulfilled by games) should in fact read *pro salute mea* see Weinstock in *RE* VIIIA, 1 (1955) 267 s.v. *valetudo*. Similar vows are later reported on behalf of Tiberius (AD 22), Gaius (AD 37) and Nero (AD 66).

[49] For a useful summary see M. Le Glay, *La Religion romaine*, Paris, 1971, 64-69. See further Rainer, *Bild* (above, Intr. VII; note 70) 122-132 with P. Herz, *Gymnasium* 90 (1983), 332-334.

[50] Other hints in the same direction are the title *pulvinar* applied to the place from which the emperor watched the games at the Circus Maximus (*RG* 19, 1): Alföldy, *Repräsentation* (above, note 36) 159 f.; cf. *RE* 23, 2 (1959) 1978 s.v. (Hug); Weinstock, *DJ* 284, n. 12; Veyne, *Pain et Cirque*, (above, Intr. II; note 2) 785, n. 482; also the circumstance that in his dwelling on the Palatine Augustus was established between Vesta, with her shrine in his own house, and Apollo in his temple next door: Wissowa, *RuKR*^{2} 77, citing Ovid, *Fasti* 4, 951; cf. J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius* (*Caligula*), Oxford, 1934, 170, noting that the Palatine now rivalled the Capitol; Fears, *Princeps* 214 f.; *id.*, "Cult of Jupiter" 62; "Theology of Victory" 808 f. To the immediate southwest stood the House of Romulus, whose name Octavian had once thought of taking. In the library adjoining the temple of Apollo, the statue of Augustus-Apollo, while clearly not a cult statue, must also have strengthened the impression made by stories of his divine birth and portent-studded youth: Radke, "Augustus" (above Intr. VII; note 11) 263 ff.; Taylor, *Divinity* 233 f. One might add the habit cultivated by Augustus himself of attempting to make others drop their gaze before his eyes, in which he wished it to be thought that some divine force resided (Suet., *Aug.* 79, 2): Paladini (above, Intr. VII, note 38) 34 f. All this enhanced the myth of his special nature or the operation within him of a special power that is said to have impressed those with whom he came into contact: Radke, *o.c.* 257, citing Cic., *Phil.* 3, 3; 5, 43; 5, 23. But see R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford, 1939, 471.

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[51] See "*Roma et Augustus*" below, p. 128, nn. 148 f. Whether this precious onyx was in the personal possession of the emperor is uncertain; if it was, its message must have been in harmony with his private thinking.

[52] The topic has frequently been treated in detail. See in particular Taylor, *Divinity* 163 f., 175, 235; K. Scott, "Emperor Worship in Ovid", *TAPA* 61 (1930), 43-69; Taeger, *Charisma* 162-179; Palladini (above, Intr. VII; note 38) throughout; Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 10 f., 51-3; Weinstock, *DJ* 304 f.; Habicht, "Augusteische Zeit" (above, Intr. III; note 7) 44; Fears, *Princeps* 123-130. For a monarch's need of a myth see *ibid.* 189 f. See now Rainer, *Bild* (above, Intr. VII; note 70) 42-95; further, D. Pietrusiński, "L'apothéose d'Octavien Auguste par le parallèle avec Jupiter dans la poésie d'Horace", *EOS* 68 (1980), 103-122; *id.*, "Eléments astraux dans l'apothéose d'Octavien Auguste chez Virgile et Horace", *ibid.* 267-283.

[53] Poetry by its art could express or reflect what official pronouncements of state policy could never say directly: Wissowa, *RuKR*^{2} 80, n. 2; cf. Latte, *RRG* 308, n. 3. See further Paladini, *o.c.* 25 *et passim*; F. Bömer, "Vergil und Augustus", *Gymnasium* 58 (1951), 26-55 at 33; *id.*, "Der Eid beim Genius des Kaisers", *Athenaeum* 44 (1966), 77-133 at 101, n. 55. The frequency with which the court poets harp on the emperor's 'divinity' suggests that more lies behind the practice than literary form inherited from Hellenistic models or the simple desire of a client to flatter. See in general K. Thraede, "Die Poesie und der Kaiserkult" in den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte* 273-303, especially 276-283 with discussion 304-306.

[54] D. Ladage, *Städtische Priester und Kultämter im Lateinischen Westen des Imperium Romanum zur Kaiserzeit*, Köln, 1971, 60-63; Habicht, *o.c.* 45-50; Mellor, "Goddess Roma" (above, Intr. V; note 4) 984.

[55] While local temples of Roma and Augustus closely follow the official line, epigraphical traces of priests, shrines (cf. Vitruvius 5, 1:7 f), altars, groves and precincts seem to attest the cult of Augustus alone in a dozen or more centres of Italy during his lifetime; and a similar picture holds true of later reigns: L. R. Taylor, "The Worship of Augustus in Italy", *TAPA* 51 (1920), 116-133; Fayer, *Roma* (above, Intr. V; note 23) 247-254; Taeger, *Charisma* 142-145; Rainer, *Bild* 96-101. Most revealing of all is a calendar at Cumae, dated between 4 and 14 A. D., prescribing the immolation of an animal victim to Augustus on his *natalis* (23 September) and a supplication (incense and wine) likewise to the emperor on the day he was named Augustus (16 January): Degrassi, *InscrIt* 13, 2, p. 279. Dio claimed that in Italy, as in Rome itself, no emperor dared accept divine honours in his lifetime (51, 20, 8). But, even if one is to consider as exceptions such centres as Naples (55, 10, 9), so broad a generalization can hardly be reconciled with the evidence from other cities, which were certainly not outposts of the Greek World. L. R. Taylor has attempted to save Dio with the argument that municipal worship was in practice offered to the *genius* of the emperor; *contra* Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 36; Habicht, *o.c.* 50 is less sure. For discus-copied from state-religious practice in Rome. In point of fact there is no evidence for the cult of the emperor's Genius at this period by the Arvals, for example: Henzen, *AFA* LXII, LXIX, 57, 71 f. Cf. Weinstock, *DJ* 215 f.; J. A. North, (above, Intr. VI; note 6), 174; also Nock's reservations *Gnomon* 8 (1932), 516 f. Nor do traces of the Genius in local civic cult amount to more than a few isolated cases: for example, the arrangements at Forum Clodii (*CIL* 11, 3303). Even at Pompeii, where we may have a good example of municipal cult in the sacrificial scene portrayed on the altar before the temple of Vespasian, it is by no means certain that the bull is offered to the

In origin the impetus to establish the ruler cult came from the East; but in the West provincial cult, at least, was for the most part installed by Augustus and his successors and evolved in concert with the changing requirements of succeeding emperors and dynasties. What must be realised from the outset is that in planting the imperial worship in the West the Romans faced a very different set of circumstances to those that already obtained in the Eastern empire. In the first place there seems to be little trace in the Latin provinces of a pre-Roman belief in the "divinity" of the ruler, living or dead, comparable to the centuries-old Hellenistic tradition of divine honours for kings and governors. One exception is Mauretania[59] but the story in Tacitus of Maricc, the

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genius of the emperor; *contra* Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 36; Habicht, *o.c.* 50 is less sure. For discussion of the iconography see Scott Ryberg, *Rites* 83 f.; G. Niebling "Der Tempel und Altar des Vespasian in Pompeji", *F u F* 31 (1957), 23-29, suggesting that the altar relief may rather represent the dedication of the temple. The altar is reproduced in *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 922 with commentary and bibl.; cf. 958. See further "Liturgy and Ceremonial", below, Vol. II. On the whole, then, Dio must simply be considered in error and it is Tacitus who comes nearer the truth: *nihil deorum honoribus relictum cum se templis et effigie numinum per flamines et sacerdotes coli vellet* (*Ann.* 1, 10).

[56] For a scattering of private cult acts among such evidence from Italy as has been collected see Taylor, *Divinity*, Appendix III, 277-280. While the classic example is Vergil's deification of Octavian (*Ecl.* 1, 7), undoubtedly the most graphic incident is the cult paid to Augustus by sailors and passengers in the bay of Puteoli a few days before his death (Suet., *Aug.* 98, 2). For interpretation and discussion see G. Rocca-Sera, "Une formule cultuelle chez Suétone (Divus Augustus 98, 2)" in *Mélanges P. Boyancé*, Paris, 1974, 671-680; Le Glay, "Hadrien" (above, Intr. III; note 49) 353, n. 29; den Boer, "Heersercultus" (above, Intr. IV; note 80) 99 f.

[57] See "*Roma et Augustus*", below, pp. 129 f.

[58] Dio's claim in 51, 20, 8 is correct to the extent that in Rome one finds no priests or temples of the living emperor, not even with Roma; cf. Suet., *Aug.* 52.

[59] For the posthumous cult of Mauretanian kings see Lactantius, *Inst. Div.* 1, 15, 6: *Hac scilicet ratione Romani Caesares suos consecraverunt et Mauri suos reges* (cf. 8); Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 21, 9: *Nisi forte post mortem deos fingitis, ... et Iuba Mauris volentibus deus est, et divi ceteri reges, qui consecrantur non ad fidem numinis, sed ad honorem emeritae potestatis.* See further Tertullian, *Apolog.* 24; Cyprian, *Quod idola dii non sint 2; CIL* 8, 8834 (cf. Mommsen *ad CIL* 8, 17159): Hiempsal; 20627: Juba. More significant are the star (or globe) and crescent, representing the sun and the moon, on coins and monuments. For numismatic examples see J. Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque*, Paris 1955, pp. 87 f., nos. 189-192 (Juba II), p. 145, 504 f. (Ptolemy) *et passim*. For the interpretation of these as symbols of divinity and deification see Weinstock, *DJ* 373-384; Alföldi, (above, Intr. VI; note 36) 169; *id.* (above, Intr. VI; note 9) 177. For Juba II in the guise of Hercules see D. Salzmann, "Zur Münzprägung

chieftain of the Boii who called himself a god (*Hist.* 2, 61), is an isolated episode and hardly evidence for worship of a divine ruler in the Celtic world.[60] Nor again is there any earlier trace in the West of the goddess Roma, who had long been established in the East, a factor that goes far to explaining the limited enthusiasm for her on the part of Western provincials.[61] Equally distinctive of the division between the Western and Eastern empire is the fact that no ready-made administrative machinery lay at hand in the Latin provinces comparable to the pre-existing Greek *koinon.* Here a medium for propagating the cult would have to be created *de novo*; hence the history of the Western *concilia,* a theme that has been ably explored in Deininger's synthesis.[62] Again, the context into which the cult would have to be fitted differed radically from one part of the West to another. Some areas, particularly the Gauls, Britain and the regions of the Rhine and the Danube, were wild, uncivilized territories where Romanization had yet to make its mark; others, such as Narbonensis, Africa and parts of Spain, had long since been settled by Roman immigrants and were already integrated within the empire with institutions modelled on those of Rome.

As a result, the development of the Western ruler cult in its various manifestations takes on a different character from area to area; the pattern of development is uneven and the nature of the worship offered tends to vary from province to province. Or at least that is true of the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods. Before the end of the Antonine era a more homogeneous picture emerges, though innovation and deviation from the norm may still be observed down to the middle of the third century A.D. when evidence peters out. By and large a uniform pattern of cult institutions was gradually to take hold with an organization, worship and ritual that can be seen as broadly similar throughout most of the Latin West. How all this took place, more precisely the development of provincial ruler worship[63] and the varying ways in which one might pay cult to the Roman emperor at different levels of society, is the theme of the following essays.

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der mauretanischen Könige Juba II und Ptolemaios", *MDAI(M)* 15 (1974), 174-183 at 175 f. An authentic cult of Mauretanian kings is rejected by G. Camps, *Massinissa, ou les Débuts de l'Histoire. Aux origines de la Berbérie* (Libyca, arch., épigr. 8), Algiers, 1960, 279-295; but see now Ph. Leveau "Caesarea de Maurétanie", *ANRW* 2, 10, 2 (1982) 683-738 at 729.

[60] D. Fishwick, "The Imperial Cult in Roman Britain", *Phoenix* 15 (1961), 159-173 at 172, n. 37.

[61] "*Roma et Augustus*", below, p. 131 with note 238.

[62] *Provinziallandtage* 21-33, 99-135.

[63] For a summary see D. Fishwick, "The Development of Provincial Ruler Worship in the Western Roman Empire", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1201-1253.

BOOK I

I. ROMA ET AUGUSTUS

1. *Origins*

(a) Drusus at Lugdunum

The origins of the imperial cult in the Latin West reach back to 12 B.C., when Drusus established the celebrated altar at the confluence of the Rhône and the Saône. The combined reports of Livy and Dio make it clear that the context of this event was trouble over the census in Gaul, which had led to disturbances in the rear of Drusus, currently engaged in a difficult war on the Rhine against the Sugambri and their allies.[1] In an attempt to calm the Gauls down Drusus summoned the foremost men of the three provinces to a meeting at Lugdunum on the pretext of the festival which Dio says was still celebrated in his time around "the altar of Augustus": ...τοὺς πρώτους αὐτοῦ, προφάσει τῆς ἑορτῆς ἣν καὶ νῦν περὶ τὸν τοῦ Αὐγούστου βωμὸν ἐν Λουγδούνῳ τελοῦσι, μεταπεμψάμενος... (54, 32, 1). Dio's account surely means that the festival to which the Gauls were invited was associated with the altar[2] and could even imply that this was already in existence in 12 B.C. In any event the point is confirmed by the epitomator of Livy, who explicitly states that in this year "the altar of the divine Caesar" was dedicated at the confluence of the two rivers and an Aeduan appointed priest: *Ara divi Caesaris ad confluentem Araris et Rhodani dedicata sacerdote creato C. Iulio Vercondaridubno Aeduo* (*Per.* 139). Thus both sources agree in assigning the episode to 12 B.C., though each is in error regarding the content of the cult which the altar was designed to serve.[3]

Against this account must be set the testimony of Suetonius: *Claudius natus est Iullo Antonio Fabio Africano conss. Kal. Aug. Luguduni eo ipso die quo primum ara ibi Augusto dedicata est* (*Claud.* 2, 1). This clearly states that the altar was dedicated on 1st August and has been taken to mean that the dedication took place in the very year of Claudius' birth, that is 10 B.C.[4] Hirschfeld and others have therefore suggested that 12 B.C. was the year of the altar's inauguration, 10 B.C. that of its formal dedication, when perhaps Augustus attended in person during his stay in Gaul (CD 54, 36, 3-4).[5] But if so, how is the interval between the two events to be explained? The gap, for example, between the "constitution" of the Ara Pacis in Rome (4th July, 13 B.C.) and its dedication three and a half years later (30th January, 9 B.C.) can plausibly be attributed to intricate work on the iconography of this imposing monument.[6] The altar at Lugdunum, though large and adorned with reliefs, was certainly not comparable and it is difficult to think that two years or so would have been needed for work to be completed on its iconography and lettering, even allowing for the accompanying statues of Victory;[7] details of ornamentation could well have been seen to before Drusus convened the Gallic notables,[8] especially if the gathering was to have the desired effect, or even finished at a later stage. A more fundamental objection is that, if a priest was named in 12 B.C., neither he nor his immediate successor could have properly performed rites *ad aram* if the altar was not dedicated until 1st August, 10 B.C.[9] The easiest solution would therefore be to assume that Suetonius has simply got the year wrong and that Livy, a contemporary of the event, is more likely to be right in assigning the dedication to 12 B.C., especially when he is partly corroborated by Dio.[10]

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[1] Taylor, *Divinity* 208 f.; Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 21 f.; A. J.; Christopherson, "The Provincial Assembly of the Three Gauls in the Julio-Claudian Period", *Historia* 17 (1968), 351-366 at 352 f.; F. Jacques, "Le cens en Gaule au IIe siècle et dans la première moitié du IIIe siècle", Ktema 2 (1977), 285-328 at 321. See further Addenda p. 185.

[2] T. Rice Holmes, *The Architect of the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1931, 2, 158. *Contra* C. M. Wells, *The German Policy of Augustus*, Oxford, 1972, 267.

[3] See below, pp. 125 f., 131. For the possibility that the text of Livy should read *dei Caesaris* rather than *divi Caesaris* see the new edition by P. Jal, C.U.F., 1984, 103 f.

[4] A. Degrassi, *I Fasti consolari dell' Impero romano*, Rome, 1952, 5.

There remains the possibility, first suggested by Fischer, that Suetonius may mean only that Claudius was born on the day, that is the anniversary of the dedication.[11] While he certainly puts the year of birth under the consuls of 10 B.C., it is rather the day of birth which is linked with the dedication of the altar; if so, *primum* could harp back to an event two years earlier.[12] Given that the dedication of the altar of the Three Gauls was of recent occurrence and an obviously major event in the history of Lugdunum, where Claudius was born, this would be sufficient reason for Suetonius to stress the coincidence of the anniversary with the day of Claudius' birth,[13] a point that also applies to Claudius' re-issue of "altar" coins in A.D. 41 in celebration of his fiftieth birthday.[14] To argue that the association of Claudius with the altar would have been worth mentioning only if he had been born within hours of the actual *dedicatio* is to underestimate the fact that the dedication of an altar or temple was the major event in its history, a day to be marked in the calendar and observed with rites.[15] Whether this interpretation is correct and Suetonius' evidence can be reconciled with that of Livy and Dio is difficult to say. In general it might be noted that 12 B.C. was the year when Augustus finally became *pontifex maximus* and that the institution of a federal cult at Lugdunum would be understandable at a time when his attention was focused on matters of state religion.[16] That Drusus, the emperor's step-son and legate in Gaul, would have acted on his own initiative at Lugdunum seems most unlikely.[17]

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[5] H. Heinen, "Zur Begründing des römischen Kaiserkultes," *Klio* 11 (1911), 129-177 at 162, n. 2 with refs.; Taylor, *Divinity* 209, n. 6; M. Grant, *Roman Anniversary Issues*, Cambridge, 1950, 12 f., n. 7; *id.*, *Roman Imperial Money*, Edinburgh, 1954, 76; A. S. Robertson, *Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet*, Oxford, 1962, 1, xxxi; H. Mattingly, *B.M.C.R. Emp.* 1, cxiii simply accepts 1st August, 10 B.C., as the date of dedication; cf. T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana*, Mainz, 1967, 159, n. 1005; Wells (above, note 2) *ibid.* See further Toutain in *Diz. Epig.* 3 (1906) (1962) 399 with Rice Holmes, (above, note 2) *ibid.*, and now R. Turcan, "L'autel de Rome et d'Auguste 'Ad Confluentem' ", *ANWR* 2, 12, 1 (1982) 607-644 at 608; cf. *id.*, "La 'fondation' du temple de Vénus et de Rome", *Latomus* 23 (1964), 42-55.

[6] E. Simon, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Monumenta artis antiquae 1), Tübingen, 1967; J. Pollini, *Studies in Augustan "Historical" Reliefs* (Diss. California), Berkeley, 1978, 75-172. Full discussion in "*Templum Divo Claudio Constitutum*", below, Vol. I, 2, p. 205, note 47. See now M. Torelli, *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* (Jerome Lectures 14), Ann Arbor, 1982, 27-61.

[7] A gap of two years would be understandable if the altar was of the precinct type (like the Ara Pacis), as held by Turcan, "Autel" (above, note 5). For arguments to the contrary see below, pp. 122 f.

[8] Note that Augustus was in Gaul 16-13 B.C.: Dio 54, 19 ff. On his activities there see A. Audin, *Lyon, Miroir de Rome dans les Gaules*, Paris, 1965, 61-67.

[9] Wissowa in *RE* 4, 1 (1900) 896-902 s.v. *consecratio*; 4, 2 (1901) 2356-59 s.v. *dedicatio*; *RuKR*^{2} 385, 394. For the priestly title *sacerdos Romae et Augusti ad aram...* see below, pp. 131 f. On the interpretation of A. Allmer and P. Dissard, *Inscriptions antiques du Musée de Lyon*, Lyon, 1888-1893, 2, 50, cf. 58, 68, the dedication was performed by C. Iulius Vercondaridubnus.

[10] So Hirschfeld *CIL* 13, 1, p. 227; Kornemann in *RE* 4, 1, (1900) 809 f. s.v. *concilium*; M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas*, Cambridge, 1969, 115; P. Wuilleumier, *Lyon, Métropole des Gaules*, Paris, 1953, 33; A. Degrassi, *InscrIt* 13, 2, p. 490 *et al.* See now R. Chevallier, "*Gallia Lugdunensis. Bilan de 25 ans de recherches historiques et archéologiques*", *ANRW* 2, 3 (1975) 860-1060 at 928. The "constitution" of the altar (not mentioned in the sources) will then have taken place some time earlier than 1st August, 12 B.C.

(b) The Celtic Background

The testimony of Dio has nevertheless been understood in the sense that he is referring to a festival already in existence at Lugdunum *before* Drusus issued his invitation. It was originally pointed out by d'Arbois de Jubainville that in mediaeval Ireland 1st August was Lugnasad, the festival of the god Lug, and the theory was consequently elaborated that Augustus simply grafted the altar and its rites onto a pre-Roman, native celebration.[18] That the name Lugdunum could mean the place or town of Lug "on high" seems very possible,[19] and a Celtic origin of the rites of immersion, for example, which are known to have been practised on the Rhône here is hardly in question.[20] The difficulty is that no direct testimony to the god Lug has yet accrued in Gaul (though dozens of other Celtic deities are known from inscriptions), nor do we have firm evidence in the Classical period at least for the celebration of his feast-day on 1st August.[21] More recently Audin has proposed that in the colony of Plancus there originally stood on the peak of Fourvière a Celtic *omphalos*, that is a sanctuary with chronometric altar and two pillars in honour of Lug, the god of light and of the calendar.[22] He theorizes that this was displaced under Augustus to make room for the forum that gave its name to Fourvière but provided the model for the arrangement at the federal sanctuary on the south slope of the hill now known as Croix-Rousse: with its altar and two Victories this will have reproduced the Celtic scheme on the neighbouring hill-top,[23] while preserving the date of the annual ceremonies at the confluence. Should archaeological evidence one day establish the existence of a sanctuary of this type on Fourvière, we might well have reason to see the working of the *interpretatio Romana* behind the federal complex across the river. In the meantime the most that can be said is that the case for a pre-Roman festival of Lug, celebrated at Lugdunum on 1st August, awaits conclusive proof.

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[11] Heinen (above, note 5) with refs; Rice Holmes, *o.c.* 157; Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 22, n. 4.

[12] For primum in the sense of "at the beginning", "at first", "originally" see *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, 1977, fasc. 6, 1457 s.v. *primum* 5 with refs.

[13] *Contra* Wells (above, note 2) *ibid.*

[14] Below, p. 104.

[15] Wissowa, *RuKR*^{2} 56 f., 475. See further "*Templum Divo Claudio Constitutum*" below, Vol. I, 2, p. 204.

[16] See "Augustus and the West", above, p. 89 with note 43.

[17] J. A. O. Larsen, *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History* (Sather Classical Lectures 28), Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1955, 130.

[18] Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 23, n. 3 with bibl.; cf. Wells (above, note 2). See further Larsen (above, note 17) 141 f. with n. 23 and bibl.; F. Benoit, *Mars et Mercure*, Aix-en-Provence, 1959, 176 f. On the possible connection of the festival of Lug with the meeting of the Gallic council see M. MacNeil, *The Festival of Lughnasa*, Oxford, 1962, 418.

What does appear certain is that, in summoning the leading men of the Gauls to meet at Lugdunum, Drusus was consciously building on Gallic precedent. Caesar's account reveals that there already existed a native tradition of tribal gatherings held irregularly for the purpose of debating intertribal concerns and that Bibracte was the place of assembly in 52 B.C. (*B.G.* 7, 63). These might be general synods or of narrower scope but participation was apparently limited to chiefs and nobles and the deliberations kept confidential. Caesar himself convened a *concilium* of the Gallic notables on various occasions and by the revolt of Vercingetorix had established a regular pattern of semi-annual meetings.[24] A further feature of the Celtic context is the annual assembly of the Druids that was held on a fixed day in the territory of the Carnutes under the presidency of a life-time archpriest; the affair had a secular side for, apart from Druids, the general public attended and disputes were settled, both public and private (*B.G.* 6, 13). Again, the *pagus* of Condate, a kilometer or so up-stream from the Roman colony, suggests by its name that this was already a separate district at the confluence, distinct from the territory of the Segusiavi.[25] If this small area was autonomous, perhaps with its own treasury, administration and cult, it will have been an ideal site for a federal sanctuary designed to serve the three Gallic provinces.[26] The very fact that Augustus chose the spot argues for its pre-Roman independence.

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[19] Chevallier (above, note 10) 916 with bibl.; cf. A. Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, Leipzig, 1904, 2, 345 s.v. Lugus, 308-344 s.v. Lugudunon. For an alternative derivation from *lucodunos* (= *mons lucidus*) se Wuilleumier (above, note 10) 11; Chevallier, *ibid.* with bibl. Audin (below, note 22) 155 notes nineteen examples of the toponym Lugdunum.

[20] Wuilleumier, *Lyon Métropole* (above, note 10) 34; A. Audin, "Les rites solsticiaux et la légende de Saint-Pothin," *RHR* 96 (1927), 147-164; D. Fishwick, "Claudius submersus," *AJAH* 3 (1978), 76 f.

[21] J. Deiniger, *Gymnasium* 73 (1966), 372; cf. *id.*, *Provinziallandtage* 23.

[22] A. Audin, "L'omphalos de Lugdunum", *Hommages Grenier* (Coll. Latomus 58), Brussels, 1962, 1, 152-164. The hypothesis is based on a combination of numismatic evidence with elements of Celtic mythology; see also Weilleumier, *o.c.* 11; Audin, *Lyon, Miroir* (above, note 8) 74-77; Chevallier, "Gallia Lugdunensis" (above, note 10) 929 with Turcan, "Autel" (above, note 5) 641, n. 171.

[23] *Lyon, Miroir* 71-74. But see below, p. 112.

Along with the dedication of the altar Livy mentions the appointment to the priesthood of C. Iulius Vercondaridubnus, evidently a member of the native aristocracy and a Roman citizen: *sacerdote creato C. Iulio Vercondaridubno Aeduo.*[27] If it is reasonable to infer from *creato* that the first *sacerdos* was elected by the Gallic leaders rather than chosen by Drusus,[28] then the cult was put in the hands of a formal organization at the very outset. From this beginning was to evolve the great *concilium* of the Three Gauls, a representative assembly of the various *civitates* of Lugdunensis, Aquitania and Belgica, that met each summer under the presidency of the yearly high priest. A single assembly for the three provinces so recently brought into existence by Augustus (16-13 B.C.) is a striking innovation[29] and there can be no doubt that, in this respect at least, imperial policy combined with Gallic federalism to achieve a happy result. The Gallic background is also reflected in the composition of the assembly: on Strabo's account (4, 3, 2; p. 192) sixty *civitates* were represented, whereas Tacitus (*Ann.* 3, 44) and other sources mention sixty-four, a discrepancy that might be explained by the subsequent addition of German tribes.[30] What seems clear is that each *civitas* sent more than one delegate, though to suppose a proportional correspondence with the number of *pagi* it included is speculative in the lack of hard evidence.[31] The more important point is that, despite pre-Roman antecedents, nothing in the developed *concilium* of the imperial period stamps it as essentially a Gallic institution that had evolved under Roman patronage.[32] Its distinguishing characteristics, particularly the link with the imperial cult, are rather in the Hellenistic tradition and suggest that in creating this prototype of a Western *concilium* Augustus drew mainly on Roman experience in the East.[33] On the other hand we know of no *lex data* that might have regulated the council of the Three Gauls on the lines of the Flavian *Lex Narbonensis* (*CIL* 12, 6038 = *ILS* 6964).[34].

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[24] Larsen (above, note 17) 142 with n. 26.

[25] A. Audin, *Essai sur la Topographie de Lugdunum*^{3}, Lyon, 1964, 22-24. For the name see *id.*, "Lugdunum: colonie romaine et capitale des Gaules" in A. Latreille (ed.), *Histoire de Lyon et du Lyonnais*, Toulouse, 1975, 23-59 at 28 "...Condate, dont le nom désigne un bourg de confluent...".

[26] Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 99; A. Grenier, *Manuel d'Archéologie gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1960, 4, 2, 506-516. See in general Allmer-Dissard, *Inscriptions* (above, note 9) 43-49 with *CIL* 13, 1670. While the full extent of the *pagus Condatensis* remains uncertain, it seems likely enough that its boundaries embraced the site of the sanctuary.

[27] Chr. Habicht, "Die Augusteische Zeit und das erste Jahrhundert nach Christi Geburt" in den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte* 41-88 at 68, noting that he will have owed his citizenship to Caesar or Augustus; cf. Larsen, *o.c.* 138. See further J. F. Drinkwater, "The Rise and Fall of the Gallic Iullii: Aspects of the Development of the Aristocracy of the Three Gauls under the Early Empire," *Latomus* 37 (1978), 817-850 at 818 f.

[28] Larsen, *o.c.* 135; Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 22, n. 5. Cf. Tac., *Ann.* 1, 57, 2.

[29] Deininger, *o.c.* 23 with nn. 1-2.

[30] So Larsen, *o.c.* 141. For attempts to enumerate the tribes represented see Larsen 227, n. 22 with bibl.; cf. Deininger 101, nn. 2-4.

2. *The Altar of the Three Gauls*

(a) Sources

No details of the altar are given in the reports of Livy, Suetonius and Dio (above, pp. 97 f.). These notices aside, the only mention of the monument in our literary sources is a brief account in Strabo,[35] who describes it as remarkable and engraved with the names of sixty tribes; nearby, he adds, stood sixty statues, one representing each tribe: ἔστι δὲ βωμὸς ἀξιόλογος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξήϰοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ϰαὶ εἰϰόνες. τούτων ἐϰάστου μία, ϰαὶ ἄλλος μέγας (4, 3, 2; p. 192). In itself the choice of an altar as the first monument of the ruler cult in the western empire might seem surprising when the Greco-Roman temple had so decisively established itself as the normal place of worship since the beginning of the Republic. But under Augustus the altar form, now constructed on the Hellenistic model with terraces, balustrades and steps, had recently returned to fashion, and it is notable that the period saw the dedication of several important structures artistically related to the great altar of Pergamum.[36] In addition to the Ara Fortunae Reducis, for example, or the altars of Ceres Mater and Ops Augusta, these included the celebrated Ara Pacis Augustae, which was actually under construction in 12 B.C.[37] There seems no reason to doubt, then, that Augustus himself, *pontifex*

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[31] Deininger, *ibid.* nn. 5 f., cf. 143.

[32] Larsen, *o.c.* 143.

[33] Deininger 23 f.; cf. 7-16. See further below, pp. 129 f.; further A. Wardman, *Religion and Statecraft among the Romans*, Baltimore, 1982, 77.

[34] Wuilleumier, *Lyon, Métropole* 35, nevertheless supposes the existence of such a law; so also Chevallier (above, note 10) 905. For the Narbonese charter see "The Provincial Cult of Gallia Narbonensis: Three Temples at Narbo", below, Vol. I, 2, pp. 240-243.

[35] See the useful discussion in Grenier, *Manuel* (above, note 26) 506-516; further Turcan, "Autel" (above, note 5) 609 f.

[36] Wissowa, *RuKR*² 469 f.; I. Scott Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (MAAR 22), Rome, 1955, 64.

[37] Above, note 6.

maximus in this very year, directly inspired the imposing edifice at Lugdunum set on a large terrace and approached, at least in its final form, by a monumental ramp from east and west, an arrangement which recalls that of the temple of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste.[38] Whether the Gallic altar bore any resemblance to other provincial altars that are associated with the ruler cult in the west is impossible to tell,[39] but motifs like those on the Lugdunum monument are certainly common to a wide range of altars found elsewhere at this period (below, p. 110).

As the end of this text now stands, Strabo apparently refers to a second altar—καὶ ἄλλος μέγας—with the result that the existence of a second structure, conceivably resembling the *Ara Pacis*, has more than once been proposed, most recently by Audin.[40] With no indication of a further monument elsewhere in our sources, however, it seems safest to follow the *communis opinio* that the text is simply corrupt at this point.[41] Of the various emendations that have been suggested ναὸς μέγας[42] is impossible since that would imply the temple of the Three Gauls was already in existence at the time Strabo was writing. Kornemann rightly deduced from the inscriptions that this was not the case,[43] though he placed the construction of the temple about the end of the first century A.D. rather than under Hadrian, as now seems more likely.[44] Among other possibilities, by far the likeliest is ἄλσος μέγα, a suggestion that goes back to Toup.[45] Sacred groves were the oldest cult places and are attested with altars, temples, even works of art in Sicily, Italy and Rome, where the best known is that of Dea Dia;[46] in the Gauls, Germany and Britain, where they are numerous, groves served as places of assembly and are often associated with the cult of waters.[47] The possibility that the sanctuary at the

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[38] Audin, *Essai* (above, note 25) 148-160; *id.*, *Lyon*, *Miroir* (above, note 8) 68; Turcan, "Autel" (above, note 5) 614.

[39] We have no clue to the size or other features of the Ara Ubiorum, below, pp. 137 f.; but a Victory seems to have flanked the altar before the temple at Camulodunum: "*Templum Divo Claudio Constitutum*", below, Vol. I, 2, p. 200. For the municipal altar at Tarraco and the altar within the *lucus Augusti* at Iol see below, pp. 146-148.

[40] *Lyon*, *Miroir* 77-79; cf. Chevallier (above, note 10) 929.

[41] Deininger, (above, note 21) (1966) *ibid.*.

[42] Accepted by M. Krascheninnikoff, "Über die Einführung des provinzialen Kaisercultus im römischen Westen," *Philologus* 53 (1894), 147-189 at 151, n. 19; also Hirschfeld, *CIL* 13, p. 227.

[43] "Herrscherkulte" 109, n. 3.

[44] "The Temple of the Three Gauls", below, Vol. I, 2, p. 316.

[45] Wuilleumier, *Lyon*, *Métropole* 42 with bibl., n. 88; cf. Heinen (above, note 5); Kornemann (above, note 43). See now Turcan, "Autel" (above, note 5) 608 f.

[46] J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Leipzig, 1885, 3, 151 f.; Thédenat in Dar.-Sag. 3, 2 (1904) (1962) 1351-56 s.v. *lucus*; Wissowa, *RuKR*^{2} 469. Augustus refers to the *nemus Caesarum* in *RG* 23. See now R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire*, New Haven and London, 1981, 35 with n. 10 and bibl.

[47] T. G. E. Powell, *The Celts*^{2}, London, 1959, 138-141; J. P. Alcock, "Celtic Water Cults in Roman Britain," *AJ* 122 (1965), 1-12; N. Chadwick, *The Celts*, London, 1971, 146-149; A. L. F. Rivet and C. Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*, London, 1979, 254 f. with bibl. For a literary description of a grove see Lucan, *Pharsalia* 3, 399-425 (Massilia); cf. Tac., *Ann.* 14, 30, 3; CD 62, 7, 2-3. Ausonius, *Moselle* 478 describes groves as the glory of the *pagi*.

pagus Condate could have included a *lucus sacer*, where stood the statues of the sixty Gallic tribes, seems therefore very strong, especially when we have a parallel in the grove with its altar which the vassal king Juba II of Mauretania established at Iol for the cult of Augustus; this is confirmed by coins showing on the reverse a large altar with the legend *lucus Augusti* (Pl XXVI: a, b).[48] It might be added that Claudius sanctioned groves in his letter to the Alexandrians.[49]

For the physical aspect of the altar our most graphic evidence is a series of *aes* "altar" coins that were struck at the imperial mint of Lugdunum in the period from Augustus down to Nero (Pls. I, XI, XIIa, XIII-XVII); the earliest of these may go back to 12 B.C. if the altar was dedicated then rather than two years later as most numismatists assume.[50] Four different obverse types can be distinguished under Augustus or early in Tiberius' reign; there was another issue of uncertain date under Tiberius; and a similar coin, more like a small medallion or souvenir, was struck under Claudius—undoubtedly in celebration of his fiftieth birthday (1st August, A.D. 41). A group of unofficial *semisses* show the altar on their reverses under Nero,[51] but the type then disappears until it returns in the form of copies issued by the Gallic emperors of the third century. With minor variations all of these coins portray what has usually been taken as the front side of a broad, rectangular altar[52] decorated with imperial insignia and flanked right and left by winged Victories perched on columns; these are represented on the coins as sometimes appreciably higher than the altar, sometimes of the same height—doubtless to leave room for the Victory statues. In the right hand, which is raised high above the shoulder, each Victory holds a wreath with hanging ribbons, while the left hand grasps a palm leaning against the shoulder.[53] There are a number of unidentified objects above the altar, below which appear the words ROM. ET AVG.

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[48] J. Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque*, Paris, 1955, pp. 81-83, nos. 157-165. The altar looks to have been cylindrical; cf. W. Hermann, *Römische Götteraltäre*, Kallmünz, 1961, 31. See further below, pp. 147 f.

[49] E. M. Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero*, Cambridge, 1967, no. 370, 1. 42; H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, Westport, Connecticut, 1924, 33.

[50] H. Cohen, *Description historique des Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1880, 1, pp. 95 f., nos. 236-241; 192 f., nos. 28-42; 256 f., nos. 81-82; 296, no. 256; Mattingly, *BMC* 1, pp. cxii-cxviii, 92 f., nos. 548-60; 94-96, nos. 565-588; 127 f., nos. 62-64; 196, no. 227; 279, note *; Robertson, *HCC* (above, note 5) 1, pp. xxxi, xliv, lxxvii, 44-47, nos. 230-244; 107, no. 94; C. H. V. Sutherland and C. M. Kraay, *Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire in the Ashmolean Museum, Part I, Augustus (c. 31 B.C.-A.D. 14)*, Oxford, 1975, 1, nos. 337-361(?), 371-403, 405-408; J.-B. Giard, *Catalogue des Monnaies de l'Empire romain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1976, 1, nos. 1472-1647. See further C. M. Kraay, *Die Münzfunde von Vindonissa* (Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft Pro Vindonissa 5), Basel, 1962, 26-29, nos. 1805-3137; J. B. Giard, "Le trésor de Port Haliguen. Contributions à l'étude du monnayage d'Auguste", *RN* 9 (1967), 119-139; Wells (above, note 2) 267-270; P. T. Kaufman, "Numismatic Evidence for the Extension of the Imperial Cult of Roma et Augustus in Tres Galliae", *NCirc* 85 (1977), 210-212; 299-302. For the theory of an additional auxiliary mint see now Turcan "Autel" (above, note 5) 616 ff. He classifies the "altar" coins in some thirty specific, official varieties.

[51] D. W. MacDowall, "Nero's Altar of Lugdunum Type", *GNS* 15 (1965), 90-93.

[52] See Turcan's survey, "Autel" 619-622.

That the coins preserve a reasonably accurate portrayal of the monument, due allowance being made for limitations of space, seems supported by a variety of archaeological remains that have been attributed to the attendant Victories or to the altar itself. What looks to be part of a bronze laurel crown (Pl. II: a, b) was unearthed in 1961 at the eastern extremity of the terrace on which the sanctuary of the Three Gauls was located; it seems not impossible that this is part of the actual crown held by one of the figures, whose height can consequently be estimated as about twice life-size.[54] With this relic may be compared other records of the Victories, in particular a small bronze statuette (Pl. III: a, b, c) recovered from the Saône in 1866 and various medallions appliqué (Pl. IV: a, b, c) showing Victories, not that these are by any means faithful copies of the original.[55] We have no clue to the size of the original supporting columns but it is believed that these were replaced under Hadrian by granite pillars of Egyptian Syenite. According to tradition, strongly supported by the probable origin of other building blocks in the area, they were then transported in about the eleventh century to Ainay, where their four halves now support the cupola of the Church of St. Martin (Pl. V). If the columns of Ainay do originate from the federal sanctuary, then the total height including the Victories (perhaps of gilded bronze) will have been originally about 14 metres.[56] Further testimony is provided by fragments of a plaque of white marble, discovered in 1859, with traces of the inset for the letters RO, the beginning of *Ro*[*mae et Augusto*?] (*CIL* 13, 1664) (Pl. VI:a);[57] evidently the legend on the coins corresponded to letters of gilded bronze, *ca.* 0.38 metres in height, that were clamped on to the plaque, the length of the wording having reached perhaps eight metres. Whether this fragment should be attributed to the altar at all is another question (below, p. 125).[58] Other marble pieces found at the same time preserve the remains of a finely crafted oak swag (Pls. VI:b, VII) which includes two axes and has been dated on stylistic grounds to the Augustan period—though for no compelling reasons.[59] As an oak swag seems to have no place on the front side of the rectangular block represented on the coins, however, it has been proposed that the relief may originate from the back or sides of the altar, from a supposed *peribolos*[60]—or from a different structure altogether.[61] The latter possibility is by no means out of the question given that the marble debris was found near the south end of the adjacent amphitheatre (below, pp. 133 f.), far enough away, that is, from the site of the altar itself.[62]

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[53] For the palm as an attribute see F. B. Tarbell, "The Palm of Victory", *CP* 3 (1908), 264-272; for its association with Apollo see Dar.-Sag. 1, 1 (1877) (1962) 311, 358 f. Despite Augustus' personal links with Apollo, the primary significance of the palm here is surely as an attribute of Victory.

[54] A. Audin and P. Quoniam, "Victoires et colonnes de l'autel fédéral des Trois Gaules: données nouvelles", *Gallia* 20 (1962), 103-116 at 103-108. Turcan "Autel" 615 cautions against conjectural calculations.

[55] *Ibid.* 109-112.

[56] *Ibid.* 112-116. See further M. Dayet, "Quelques remarques au sujet des monnaies de bronze romaines portant au revers l'autel de Rome et d'Auguste", *Bull. Soc. franc. de Numismatique* (1965), 426 f.; Turcan, "Autel" 610 f. with n. 22, 641.

[57] H. Dragendorff, "Der Altar der Roma und des Augustus in Lugdunum", *JDAI* 52 (1937), 111-119; Audin, *Essai* 154; Turcan, "Autel" 613.

[58] A. Audin suggests that in view of its size the plaque may rather originate from the frieze of the federal temple; for which see "The Temple of the Three Gauls", below, Vol. I, 2, p. 308 with note 1.

(b) Imagery and Symbolism

The various details of the coin types and the sense of the imagery as a whole have been the subject of protracted discussion, some points of which still await satisfactory resolution. Mattingly saw that the front of the monument bore a central wreath with an upright branch to right and left but nevertheless observed "... it cannot be pretended that the type is understood; the figures on the altar are uncertain in meaning and the exact function of the Victories at the sides is doubtful. Presumably we see summarized in one type features of the actual altar and of its surroundings... . In the lack of material for comparison we must leave the matter here."[63] Whereas Grant and Robertson have been content to repeat this verdict,[64] it was already recognized by Dragendorff that the wreath was the *corona civica* and the branches laurels: "für ein Monument zu Ehren des Augustus ein durchaus sinnvoller Schmuck."[65] More recently Audin and Quoniam have similarly concluded that, on coins of Augustus and Tiberius at least, what looks to be the principal face of the altar is adorned with an oak wreath and laurels: "couronne centrale — de chêne — et lauriers."[66] What was the significance of this combination has been elucidated in recent years by the basic studies of Alföldi, who has explored the background and interrelationship of the civic crown and the two laurel trees of Augustus.[67] Similarly the role of Victory within the Augustan order has become much clearer in the light of work by Gagé, Weinstock, Picard, Hölscher and now Fears.[68] While the interpretation of the figures at either end of the rectangular slab or of the objects above it remains in some doubt, there can no longer be any question that, on the evidence of the coins, the monument bore a group of symbols that collectively incorporate the major elements of Augustan ideology. The key task for present purposes is to bring out the meaning of their conjunction in relation to the *ara* at Lugdunum, the earliest and one of the most important centres of the imperial cult in the western Roman empire.

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[59] Dragendorff, *ibid.*; J. Guey and A. Audin, "Les guirlandes de l'autel d'Auguste", *Bull. des Musées et Monuments Lyonnais* 5 (1956), 41-46, 55-62; A. Alföldi, *Die zwei Lorbeerbäume des Augustus* (Antiquitas 14), Bonn, 1973, 37, n. 143 with bibl. The thyrsus which Alföldi recognises is in fact an axe.

[60] Dragendorff (above, note 57) 113, 117, nn. 2 f. with refs.; Audin, *Lyon Miroir* 77.

[61] Turcan, "Autel" 615.

[62] A. Audin suggested by letter (19th Dec., 1977) that in view of its find-spot the relief may come from an imperial tribunal that stood in the middle of the west side of the arena. See now *Gallia* 37 (1979), 98, where the thesis is worked out in detail. Note that a lash is intertwined with the axe preserved in entirety and that opposite the blade of this is a human head.

[63] *BMC* 1, pp. cxviif, 92.

[64] Grant, *RIM* (above, note 5) 76; Robertson, *H C C* 44 f.

[65] Above, note 57, 116 f.

[66] Above, note 54, 108.

(c) The Inner Reliefs

Discussion of the central crown and branches necessarily begins with *Res Gestae* 34, 2, the account by Augustus of the honours granted him in 27 B.C., which effectively masked his monarchical position as head of state:[69]

> *Quo pro merito meo senatus consulto Augustus appellatus sum et laureis postes aedium mearum vestiti publice coronaque civica super ianuam meam fixa est et clupeus aureus in curia Iulia positus, quem mihi senatum populumque Romanum dare virtutis, clementiaeque et iustitiae et pietatis caussa testatum est per eius clupei inscriptionem.*

The distinction of the *corona civica* was in origin an oak wreath that in the Republican period a citizen had bestowed upon a soldier or magistrate for bravery in saving his life. Among others, Caesar had been granted it in 80 B.C., and in 63 B.C. it was suggested in the senate (apparently in vain) that the crown should be awarded to Cicero. The man saved incurred an obligation to honour his *servator* as *parens*—hence the immediate connection with the title "father of the fatherland" that was first bestowed, though unofficially, on Cicero in 63 B.C.[70] The most significant part of the Republican background is the oak wreath[71] that was given to Caesar by the senate in 45 B.C. along with the title *parens patriae*—in this case for saving not one but all of his fellow-citizens.[72] The justification of the same award to Augustus is made clear by coins showing the *corona civica* with the legend *ob cives servatos*,[73] also by Dio's explicit statement (53, 16, 4) and a verse of Ovid.[74] The concept of the *princeps* as *servator* is central to Augustan ideology. From this time on the oak wreath became the principal emblem of Augustus, the symbol of his majesty and more and more the monopoly of the emperor, to whom it was awarded each in his turn *ob cives servatos*.[75]

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[67] A. Alföldi, *Der Vater des Vaterlandes im römischen Denken*, Darmstadt, 1978; *Lorbeerbäume* (above, note 59).

[68] J. Gagé, "La théologie de la Victoire impériale", *RH* 171 (1933), 1-43; S. Weinstock, "Victor and Invictus", *HThR* 50 (1957), 211-247; *id., RE* 8A 2 (1958) 2485-2542 s.v. *victor* and Victoria; G. Ch. Picard, *Les trophées romains. Contribution à l'histoire de la religion et de l'art triomphal de Rome* (BEFAR 187), Paris, 1957; Hölscher, *o.c.* (above, note 5); J. R. Fears, "The Theology of Victory at Rome: Approaches and Problems", *ANRW* 2, 17, 1 (1981) 736-826.

[69] J. Gagé, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*^{3}, Paris, 1975, 144. For commentary see the bibliography given by Alföldi, *Lorbeerbaüme* 12, n. 37. Note that it was the founder of Lugdunum, L. Munatius Plancus, who proposed in the senate (16th January, 27 B.C.) that Octavian should be given the title 'Augustus' (Suet. *Aug.* 7, 2; Vell. 2, 91, 1).

[70] Alföldi, *Vater* (above, note 67) 40-67, 80-111; Weinstock, *DJ* 163-167, 200-205, 232 f. with abundant refs.; V. A. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*, London, 1981, 70-74.

Along with the *corona civica* above the lintel of his door, the senate decreed that the doorposts of Augustus' house should be publicly wreathed with laurels. Though coins often show simple branches, the combined numismatic and iconographic evidence points to two laurel trees that will have been planted at the entrance to his house, where they were replaced each year by new trees. Mommsen took these to be symbols of victory in line with the Republican practice whereby houses were decked with laurel branches on news of victory and at victory celebrations;[76] but a recent study of Alföldi has concluded that the literary texts, figured monuments and coins suggest rather that the laurel trees were a means of sacralizing the house of the man who had just been called Augustus.[77] In any event there is an obvious connection between the laurel trees at Augustus' door and the branch he held in his hand at triumphs or the laurel crown he was entitled to wear at festivals,[78] so it was an easy task for official propaganda to link the *Palatinae laurus* with the idea of victory.[79] Henceforth the two laurels in their Augustan idiom are directly related to the office of the *princeps*,[80] even to the point where on Alföldi's interpretation they represent the authority bestowed by the title Augustus with its tinge of sanctity and come to be cult objects in their own right.[81]

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[71] The wreath was placed on a statue of Caesar standing on the Rostra, while a second statue was decorated with the grass crown (*corona obsidionalis*), a distinction greater than the oak wreath; this was given technically for saving Rome from siege but in practice for freeing the state from danger. Octavian, too, was granted the grass crown by the senate on news of Anthony's death in 30 B.C. See Alföldi, *Vater* 52 f.; Weinstock, *DJ* 148-152; M. Le Glay, "Le culte de Rome et de Salus à Pergame," *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens* (Festschrift Karl Dörner), Leiden, 1978, 546-564 at 554, n. 39; Maxfield (above, note 70) 67-69.

[72] For the suggestion that it was Cicero who proposed the title for Caesar see Alföldi, *Vater* 85; followed by Weinstock *DJ* 167, 202 f.

[73] Alföldi, *Vater* 68-79; Weinstock, *DJ* 240, n. 5 with refs; W. K. Lacey, "Octavian in the Senate, January 27 B.C.", *JRS* 64 (1974), 176-184 at 177 f.

[74] *Causa superpositae scripto est testata coronae*
Servatos civis indicat huius ope (*Trist.* 3, 1, 47 f.)

[75] Augustus finally accepted the title that lay behind the grant in 2 B.C., when he was called *pater patriae* in contrast to Caesar's title *parens patriae*; cf. Alföldi, *Vater* 95 with analysis. The name was then inscribed in the vestibule of his house (*RG* 35, 1)—where the oak crown and laurel trees already were. For the possibility that he was first offered the title in 27 B.C., if not earlier (cf. CD 55, 10, 10), see Alföldi, *Vater* 92 f.; A. Wlosok (ed.), "Einführung" in *Römischer Kaiserkult* (WdF 372), Darmstadt, 1978, 1-52 at 38, n. 94 with bibl. For the comparison between Augustus and Jupiter, the heavenly father, see further an *aureus* of 27 B.C. with Alföldi's commentary, *Vater* 72; *Lorbeerbäume* 9 f.; cf. Ovid, *Trist.* 3, 1, 31-48.

[76] Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 5 f., noting that in the late Republic such demonstrations centred on the exploits of the great generals and were converted under Augustus into *gaudia publica*. See further Lacey (above, note 73) 178 f.

[77] *Ibid.* 2-7. For a summary of the discussion see *id.*, "Die zwei Lorbeerbäume des Augustus" in Wlosok (ed.), *Kaiserkult* (above, note 75) 403-422; cf. *Vater* 68.

The account in *RG* 34, 2 makes it clear, lastly, that both the civic crown and the laurel trees were closely connected with the golden shield that was placed in the Curia Iulia and inscribed with Augustus' virtues: *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia*, *pietas*[82] (Pl. VIII); coins and monuments, too, frequently show the shield surrounded by the oak wreath or flanked by the two laurels.[83] Along with other honours the shield is said to have been given as a reward for Augustus' merit in restoring the state to the senate and the Roman people, but in the wider sense all relate to the final victory of Octavian and its consequences;[84] hence their frequent association with Victoria on the coins and monuments (see below, p. 111 f.). Similarly the virtues commemorated on the shield are essentially the qualities by which Augustus has merited the position of *princeps* and his exceptional *auctoritas*; they represent his own conception of his claim to rule, and, as such, have been evinced through the policies he has pursued since Actium. Two virtues[85] in particular are significant for their link with the oak wreath: *virtus*, the quality by which a man can benefit his country—by victory over Anthony and Cleopatra but also in the subsequent conduct of the state;[86] and *clementia*, an attribute particularly appropriate to a saviour.[87]

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[78] Hölscher, *Victoria* (above, note 68) 148 f, 152 f, 158 f; Weinstock, *DJ* 107, 271, 328. The custom was inherited from Caesar.

[79] *Lorbeerbäume* 7-9, 11-17, noting that the court poets celebrate the laurels as tokens of the emperor's power to bring victory.

[80] An obvious further connection is with Augustus' patron deity Apollo, to whom the laurel was sacred. By a curious twist the motif of the two laurels now creeps into the cult of Apollo, where they flank the tripod, for example. "Die Symbole des Apollo sind hier sozusagen 'augusteisiert'.": *Lobeerbäume* 54. For Apollo see "Augustus and the West", above, pp. 87 f.; Hölscher, *Victoria* 160.

[81] *Lorbeerbäume* 39 f.

[82] According to the copy found at Arles, which gives the original wording of the inscription, the shield was first dedicated the following year in 26 B.C.; cf. Hölscher, *Victoria* 103, n. 627 with bibl; Lacey (above, note 73) 181. For the 'canon' of virtues see Weinstock, *DJ* 228-259; Hölscher *o.c.* 106 f; H. W. Benario, "Augustus Princeps," *ANRW* 2, 2 (1975) 75-85 at 80 ff; A. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Emperor and his Virtues," *Historia* 30 (1981), 298-323 at 300-307.

[83] Alföldi, *Vater* 70, 77; *Lorbeerbäume* 16 f.

[84] Hölscher, *Victoria* 105-108.

[85] For the significance of *iustitia* and *pietas* see Hölscher, *ibid*; Weinstock, *DJ* 243-59.

[86] P. A. Brunt and J. M. Moore, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, Oxford, 1970, 78.

[87] Alföldi, *Vater* 86-92; Weinstock, *DJ* 237-240, noting that *clementia* is inherited from Caesar and immediately connected with the civic crown.

The distinctions of the civic crown, the laurel trees and the *clupeus virtutis* quickly became detached from their original local context. As abstract symbols of the regime rather than honorific decorations of Augustus, they now flood the coinage and a wide range of monuments, public and private, in Rome, Italy and the western provinces—even taking hold in folk art or as the decoration of such everyday utensils as oil lamps.[88] Oak crown, laurels and shield can appear either singly or in a variety of combinations, though rarely do all three appear on smaller monuments or coins, doubtless due to lack of space; for the same reason the *corona civica* is often abbreviated to a swag and the laurel trees to branches. Of particular interest for present purposes is the close association of these emblems with the ruler cult. At Rome they are a constant motif on the altars of the *vicomagistri* and of their assistant *ministri* who served the cult of the Lares Augusti; here one can find them in close association with the Genius Augusti and the two dancing Lares. In the towns of Italy the insignia appear on such municipal monuments as the altars of the *seviri Augustales* or the altar before the temple of Vespasian at Pompeii, where all three appear on the back side. In time they came to be associated with cult functionaries. Germanicus was evidently given the oak crown as the badge of his office as *flamen* of Divus Augustus;[89] so, too, oak crown and laurels decorate the house door of an *Augustalis* at Pompeii and in Africa the monument of a deceased municipal priest of Divus Augustus is marked with twin laurels at Tunis.[90] In the provinces typical examples of their use are the oak swag and shield that coins portray on the municipal altar at Tarraco[91] or the oak wreath and laurels on local altars at Narbo, Arles, Bourges, Bordeaux and Rindern near Cleves.[92] At a higher level the oak swag appears on the altar flanked by laurels that was set up by Juba II in the *lucus Augusti* at Iol,[93] (Pl. XXVI: a, b), while oak swags decorate the frieze of the provincial temple at Tarraco[94] (Pls. XXXI-XXXII). It is hardly surprising, then, to find the civic crown and two laurels as the central reliefs on the front face of the great altar at Lugdunum. Indeed one wonders whether the *clupeus virtutis* might not also have had its place, say on the back or sides, in keeping with the general imagery. The question can never be answered, of course, but to judge from the coins the names of the sixty tribes were certainly inscribed elsewhere than on the front face, as also perhaps was the dedication to Roma and Augustus (below, p. 125 f.).

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[88] Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 15-17, 30-39, 46-50 with documentation and abundant bibliography.

[89] Weinstock, *DJ* 308, 395, n. 8; cf. *JRS* 47 (1957), 152.

[90] G. Ch. Picard, "L'art monumental au temps d'Auguste", *REL* 38 (1960), 323-336 at 334.

[91] See "The Altar of Augustus at Tarraco", below, Appendix I, p. 172.

[92] Alföldi, *o.c.* 38, with refs. Add E. Espérandieu, *Recueil Général des Bas-Reliefs de la Gaule Romaine*, Paris, 1907-31, 1, nos. 139 f. (Arles), 563 (Narbonne).

[93] Above, note 48.

[94] "*Divus Augustus*", below, p. 154.

(d) The Twin Victories

Attention has already been drawn to the transformation of the Palatine laurels into a symbol of victory in Augustan literature;[95] but in practice it seems clear that all three distinctions granted in 27 B.C. were closely associated with the theme of victory. Dio expressly states that the laurels and crown of oak were decreed to Augustus ὡς καὶ ἀεὶ τούς τε πολεμίους νικῶντι καὶ τοὺς πολίτας σώζοντι (53, 16, 4). As the word order shows, victory was a prerequisite for saving the citizens, for which Augustus was honoured with the *civica*, and it is significant that Augustus himself states that he exercises as *victor* the virtue of clemency, which we have seen to be so closely associated with the oak wreath (*RG* 3, 1).[96] The essential link with victory is seen most clearly, however, in connection with the *clupeus virtutis.* We know from Dio that, when the Curia Iulia, begun by Caesar in 44 B.C., was finally dedicated in 29 B.C., Octavian set up a statue of Victory beside the altar of Victoria which he also dedicated there (51, 22, 2).[97] The statue had earlier stood in Tarentum, from where it was brought to Rome—exactly when is uncertain—and must have represented Victoria standing with the tip of one foot on a globe.[98] The type, which inspired innumerable copies, appears on coins by 31 B.C., if not earlier,[99] and shows such a Victory holding in the right hand a wreath and in the left a palm branch, occasionally other attributes.[100] Four years later, when Augustus received the *clupeus virtutis*, this was placed near the statue of Victory in the Curia Iulia.[101] The association is commemorated on coins, reliefs, cameos, even early imperial lamps which represent Victoria holding the shield or fastening it to a pillar, presumably a recollection of the original mounting in the Curia; significantly the shield is frequently surrounded by the *corona*

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[95] Above, note 79.

[96] Above, note 87. See further Fears, "Theology of Victory" (above, note 68) 807 f.

[97] Presumably the Curia, the altar and the statue were all dedicated on the same occasion, 28th August, 29 B.C.: *Fasti Maffeiani*: 28th August; Degrassi, *InscrIt* 13, 2, pp. 79, 504. See further Weinstock (above, note 68) col. 2521; *DJ* 111; Hölscher, *Victoria* 6-8; Taylor *Divinity* 153. For the "Curia" coin commemorating this event see M. J. Price and B. L. Trell, *Coins and their Cities*, London, 1977, 72-74 with fig. 125. On the date see R. E. A. Palmer, "Severan Ruler Cult and the Moon in the City of Rome", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1085-1120 at 1102 f., noting that 28th August was a Roman feast of the Sun and the Moon and hence relevant to the victory over Anthony and Cleopatra, who had named their twin children Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene. In the Curia also stood the spoils of Egypt.

[98] H. A. Pohlsander, "Victory. The Story of a Statue", *Historia* 18 (1969), 588-597.

[99] F. Prayon, "Projektierte Bauten auf römischen Münzen" in B. von Freytag gen. Löringhoff *et. al.* (edd.), *Praestant Interna* (Festschrift U. Hausmann), Tübingen, 1982, 319-330 at 324.

[100] Hölscher, *Victoria* 6, 8 f., 12; Weinstock, *RE* (above, note 68) 2522.

[101] Fears, "Theology of Victory" (above, note 68) 808 states that the shield in the Curia was supported by two Victoriae. This is not attested by *CIL* 9, 5811, though representations elsewhere occasionally show two Victories (below, p. 112). Nor is there anything to confirm that Victoria Augusta already had a central role in Augustan ideology. The Victoria of the Curia is surely the Victory of the senate and the Roman people (below, pp. 115 f.).

civica or accompanied by the laurel trees.[102] At all events the frequency with which Victoria is linked elsewhere with the Augustan insignia effectively demonstrates that their combination at the altar of the Three Gauls is nothing new but part of a continuous development that can be traced elsewhere.

The fact that there are two Victories at Lugdunum raises a different question, however. Whether any connection might be supposed with two pillars in a chronometric sanctuary of Lug on the summit of Fourvière must be left open in the lack of direct evidence (above, p. 100). What may certainly be shown is that the double Victories can be paralleled in a specifically Roman context perhaps as far back as the time of Marius. According to the literary sources, Marius placed his statue on the Capitol between two trophy-bearing Victories, which were then pulled down by Sulla and re-erected by Caesar in 65 B.C.; unfortunately the monument was known only from its restoration, so one cannot be sure of its original form.[103] But on the Capitol also stood another statue group which King Bocchus of Numidia had set up, commemorating his delivery of Jugurtha to Sulla,[104] and that monument too is reported to have included Victories bearing trophies. With this may be compared a Sullan relief from St. Omobono showing two Victories bearing a shield decorated with a laurel swag (Pl. IX). Among other details of the shield an eagle holds in its beak a Victory palm on which hang two crowns and a ribbon; several of these attributes, it should be noted, recur at Lugdunum.[105] Of interest in the Augustan period are the two Victories, for example, that apparently occupied the spandrel of the arch decreed in honour of Augustus in 19 B.C. after the return of the *signa* by the Parthians, also the twin Victories that seem to have served as *acroteria* of the temple of Mars Ultor.[106] Apart from a relief from Potenza in Picenum, possibly showing two Victories holding the *clupeus virtutis*,[107] we also have a lamp type representing two Victories holding a shield inscribed *ob cives servatos* above a burning altar that is flanked by laurel trees (Pl. X).[108] Whatever the origin of the composition,[109] then, there can be no doubt that twin Victories became an official piece of

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[102] Beaujeu, *Rel. Rom.* 60; Hölscher, *Victoria* 103-105; Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 16, 31, 33, 48 f.

[103] Weinstock, *RE* (above, note 68), 2513; *HThR* 50 (1957), 224, citing Plut. *Caes.* 6, 1; Vell. 2, 43, 4; Val. Max. 6, 9, 14; Suet., *Caes.* 11; cf. Hölscher, *Victoria* 141, n. 886; Fears, "Theology of Victory" 788.

[104] Plut., *Sulla* 6, 1; *Marius* 32, 4; cf. Weinstock, *ll. cc.*

[105] Hölscher, *Victoria* 100·f., 130.

[106] Weinstock, *o.c.* col. 2524, 2526.

[107] Hölscher, *Victoria* 104, n. 638.

[108] Hölscher, *o.c.* 109, 130; Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 48.

[109] Weinstock, *o.c.* 2524, cf. 2520, proposes a Greek origin, perhaps with the victory monuments of the Diadochi. He sees the two Victories as mostly a heraldic device, meaningless in itself. For later examples in the imperial period see Turcan, "Autel" (above, note 5) 641. Architectonic symmetry must surely have been an overriding consideration.

Augustan symbolism and that it is in this capacity they flank the altar at the federal sanctuary.

It is of central concern to establish why Victoria should have had a key place in imperial ideology, as illustrated par excellence at Lugdunum. In origin Victoria was a divine power, conceived as a goddess of the collective Roman people, who first received a state cult when her temple was dedicated on the Palatine[110] in 294 B.C. during the Samnite War—a period, it should be noted, when various other temples were dedicated to personifications.[111] A direct connection with events in the East is not in evidence but a correspondence must surely be supposed with contemporary developments in the Hellenistic world, where Niké had assumed enhanced importance in the new order created by Alexander and his successors.[112] The notion that the gods bestowed victory as a supernatural gift was as old as the Iliad, but in the latter part of the fourth century B.C. the concept of divinely granted victory was first employed to create a myth of supernatural legitimation. The notion was of essential importance to the victor by right of conquest and was invoked to justify the empire of Alexander and the monarchies of the Diadochi, whose victory afforded proof of divine sanction. We have seen that the Hellenistic world did not hesitate to set the charismatic[113] individual on the superhuman level by conferring divine honours but, as Fears has most recently demonstrated, of equal significance with the ruler cult is the mystique of victory as a divine gift, a numinous quality that attached to the successful general or ruler. The image of himself that the Hellenistic monarch wished to project was that of a being to whom the gods have granted εὐτυχία in virtue of innate ἀρετή; by victory in battle he evinced possession of these qualities, which were thus fundamental to the political concept nowadays called "the theology of victory".[114] One aspect of this complex of ideas is the victoriousness of the ruler who achieved mastery of the world; invincibility and universal dominion became ideas inseparably linked and rulers like Demetrius Polyorcetes could be aptly portrayed sitting(?) upon the globe.[115] But the most crucial facet is the personalization of Niké, who was now appropriated by the charismatic individual. How important this idea was felt to be is shown most clearly by the epithets that attached to the ruler's name: Aniketos, Nikator, Kallinikos, Nikephoros.[116]

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[110] For the site of the temple see T. P. Wiseman, "The Temple of Victory on the Palatine", *Antiquaries Journal* 61 (1981), 35-52.

[111] For further traces of Victory at this time see Weinstock, *RE* 8A (above, note 68) 2486, 2505 f.; *id.*, *HThR* 50 (1957), 215 f.; *DJ* 92; Hölscher, *Victoria* 136; Fears, "Theology of Victory" 744, 773 f.

[112] Weinstock, *RE* 8A, 2485 f.; Fears, *o.c.* 753-773; cf. *id.*, "The Cult of Jupiter and Roman Imperial Ideology", *ANRW* 2, 17, 1 (1981) 3-141 at 36-38; "The Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology", *ANRW* 2, 17, 2 (1981) 827-948 at 850 f.

[113] For the use of the term see Fears, "Theology of Victory" 746 with n. 33, citing M. Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, Grundriss der Sozialökonomik*, Tübingen, 1922, 753-7.

[114] For the terminology see Fears, *o.c.* 739, n. 3 with bibl.

[115] Hölscher, *o.c.* 16, n. 75; 151, n. 947; Fears, *o.c.* 777, n. 203.

Preoccupation with victory in the early third century suggests that the contemporary Hellenistic notion of the theology of victory was now assimilated with its attendant imagery into Roman ideology and cult.[117] The history and development of the concept runs through the later Roman Republic, when victory was originally a cooperative achievement of the commonwealth before it gradually changed into a special prerogative of the invincible general.[118] This personalization of Victoria contributed to the supernatural aura by which outstanding men sought to justify their exceptional role and must be viewed as part of the general development of charismatic ideology, which was so closely connected with Roman domestic politics. As such, it has its roots in the career of Scipio Africanus and can then be traced through the Hellenization of the old Roman rite of the triumph and the career of Marius[119] down to the formative period of Sulla,[120] whose cognomen Felix emphasized and personalized the divinely granted gift of *felicitas* that results in victory.[121] The Sullan model lies behind the career of Pompey and his special link with Alexander,[122] but it is with Caesar that the theology of victory reaches its climax.[123] Hölscher in particular has isolated the theme of universal victory as reflected in the statue of Caesar with his foot on the globe, which the senate set on the Capitol in 46 after Thapsus; also in the statue with its inscription 'to the unconquered god' that the senate placed in the temple of Quirinus after Munda in 45.[124] The terms *victor* and *invictus* were officially epithets of the gods, though they had been awarded to generals of the Republic, and to call Caesar 'unconquered' put him in the tradition of Alexander.[125] Similarly the coinage of the period after Thapsus constantly repeats the figure of Victoria in celebration of Caesar's victory[126] and it is part of the same development that in 45 the senate voted him a whole series of triumphal honours.[127] Above all we have the celebration in July 45 of the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris*, when Caesar's statue was carried in the procession immediately behind that of Victoria.[128] What all this points to is the creation of Victoria Caesaris, by far the most significant aspect of the theology of victory under Caesar.[129] If one is to exclude the possibility of a Sullan precedent,[130] this is the first example we have of the official association of the goddess Victoria with an individual as expressed in an epithet. Victory is now a personal, companion goddess of Caesar.

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[116] Weinstock, *RE* 8A, 2486; *HThR* 50 (1957), 213 f.; Hölscher, *o.c.* 139; cf. Fears, *Gnomon* 50 (1978), 458, 460.

[117] For the view that this was a deliberate attempt to justify imperial expansion in the Samnite Wars see Fears, "Theology of Victory" 775.

[118] For Victory under the Roman Republic see Weinstock *RE* 8A, 2487 ff., 2511 ff.; *id.*, *DJ* 92 f.; Hölscher, o.c. 137 ff.; Fears, "Theology of Victory" 773 ff.

[119] On Fears' view the part played by Marius in the metamorphosis of Victoria was less central than has been supposed: *o.c.* 786-789. *Contra* Weinstock, *RE* 8A, 2488, 2513; cf. *HThR* 50 (1957), 224; Hölscher 140-142. The reference in Obsequens 70 to a Victoria Mariana at Mutina is very late but, if it rests on Livy, would certainly have a bearing on the picture, if only indirectly.

[120] In celebration of his victory at the Porta Collina (1 November, 82 B.C.) Sulla instituted *ludi Victoriae*: Weinstock, *DJ* 92 with commentary. These were later called *ludi Victoriae Sullanae* (Vell. Pat. 2, 27, 6)—on the usual view to distinguish them from the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris.* See further Weinstock, *RE* 8A, 2514; Hölscher 143 f. with n. 901, cf. 147; Fears, "Theology of Victory" 794, n. 269.

[121] Fears, "Cult of Virtues" (above, note 12) 878 f.

[122] Weinstock, *HThR* 50 (1957), 226 ff.; *RE* 8A, 2489; Hölscher 147-150; Fears, "Theology of Victory" 796-802. For Pompey and Alexander see D. Michel, *Alexander als Vorbild für Pompeius, Caesar und Marcus Antonius*, Brussels, 1967; Weinstock, *DJ* 37 f., 188.

[123] Weinstock, *HThR* 50 (1957), 229 ff.; *RE* 8A, 2489 f., 2514-17; *DJ* 80-111; Hölscher 150-155.

[124] For the possibility that Dio has switched the epigraphs below the two statues see "Divus Iulius" above, pp. 59 f. In the early Republic the imagery of the globe had been associated with the Roman commonwealth: Weinstock, *DJ* 96; Fears, "Theology of Victory" 777 f.

Against this Republican background, particularly the legacy of Caesar, must be viewed the role of Victoria in Augustan ideology. There are already signs after Naulochus of Octavian's claim to universal dominion but it was the epochal victory of Actium that invested Victoria with her crucial significance. The Victory of the Curia is the goddess who had shown her favour at Actium (*CD* 51, 22, 1). [131] Poised on a globe, she is particularly appropriate to the world situation after Actium, a tangible symbol of divine sanction of the new order, and Augustan art drives home the point that this Victory is closely associated with Augustus and of the greatest relevance and importance to him. Yet, despite the connection, she is not a deity personal to Augustus nor is Victory of the Curia ever called Victoria Augusta. By setting the representation of Victory in the Curia, Augustus had made her the Victory of the senate and the Roman people in the tradition of the early Republic,[132] a point confirmed by coins of A.D. 68/69, when the type was resurrected, showing Victoria P. R. standing on a globe.[133] *Victoria quae est in curia* or *Romana Victoria*, as she is called, must be seen in the light of Roman politics after 31 B.C.; she belongs, that is, to a period when opposition to his policies pushed

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[125] Weinstock, *HThR* 50 (1957), 232-237; *DJ* 188; Michel, *o.c.* (above, note 122). For the later development see Hölscher 139, 168 f., cf. 152.

[126] Weinstock, *DJ* 99 with refs.; M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge, 1974, 2, 736.

[127] Weinstock, *o.c.* 106 f. cf. 64.

[128] Caesar had instituted *ludi Veneris Genetricis* in honour of his 'ancestor' and patron deity Venus Genetrix, to whom he dedicated a temple on the new Forum Iulium in 46. When the games were first repeated in 45, they were transferred from 26th September to 20th-30th July and their name changed to *ludi Victoriae Caesaris*. For the separate identities of Venus Genetrix and Victoria see Weinstock's convincing argument, *DJ* 91.

[129] The sources for Victoria Caesaris are assembled by Hölscher 154, n. 969.

[130] Above, note 120.

[131] Hölscher, *Victoria* 6-17; Weinstock, *DJ* 111 f.

[132] Fears, "Theology of Victory" 775-778; cf. 796, noting a reversion to the earlier tradition in the 70's, following the Sullan period.

[133] Hölscher 17 f. with refs.

Augustus in the direction of compromise. As the Victory of Actium, she is far too early to be considered the personal Victory of Augustus, who can hardly be supposed to have established the symbol of his personal invincibility in a building where the senate deliberated and was (at least later) required to offer prayer and sacrifice to Victory.

On the other hand, there are already signs on the horizon of a goddess appropriate to Augustus on the lines of the Victoria Caesaris. Though the title of *victor* or *invictus* was unacceptable—Augustus prevented Tiberius from being named Invictus[134]—the victory crown he was entitled to wear at all festivals after 29 B.C. (*CD* 15, 20, 2) was restricted *ca.* 16 B.C. to Augustus himself.[135] More importantly, all victories are now attributed to the emperor and his house, even if he was not physically present in the field.[136] In the end the limitation of victories to Augustus culminated in the cult of a Victoria that belonged exclusively to and was personal to the emperor. The name given to it was Victoria Augusta or Augusti,[137] a goddess who stood in the same relationship to Augustus as she had to Caesar, though the victories achieved by her aid were now won over *external* enemies only. The earliest evidence for Victoria Augusta is the Feriale Cumanum of *ca.* 4-14 A.D.[138] but she will have come into existence earlier, presumably after the official limitation of all victories to Augustus as a result of the settlement of 27 B.C.; significantly it was in this period that Augustan Pax, Concordia and other abstractions were created. Whether in practice her cult was merged with the state cult of Victoria on the Palatine[139] is unknown; there is at any rate no evidence for a state cult of Augustan Victory. In any event Victoria Augusta/i—that is, the Victory of each emperor in succession[140]—became important under the Empire inasmuch as victories granted by Victoria were an expression of the emperor's *felicitas*; hence the later celebration of Victoria Parthica, Germanica, Britannica and such like.[141]

The important point for present purposes is that victory was an integral element of Augustan ideology and a key theme of imperial propaganda. Why this should be so is self-evident. Victory provided the political myth that was as essential to the rule of Augustus as it had been to that of Caesar.[142] The principate was as dependent upon the mythology of victory as had been the kingdoms of the Diadochi, for military success was tangible proof of divine favour and guidance. Victory was a concrete manifestation of the *felicitas* of Augustus that in turn depended upon his *virtus*. What had happened at Actium justified his usurpation of power and conferred divine legitimization that could be used to cloak the excesses of his Republican career. Far from trying to mask the military basis of his power, Augustus parades his victories by recounting them first in the *Res Gestae* (1-4).[143] But by her favours at Actium Victoria had not only brought universal dominion but begun a new epoch. As Augustan propaganda insists, victory was the precondition of the Augustan era, fittingly inaugurated in 17 B.C. by the celebration of the Ludi Saeculares; god-given victory had created the circumstances under which the qualities of Augustus could display themselves and had made possible the achievements for which Augustus was honoured with the civic crown, the laurel trees and the *clupeus virtutis*. For victory was the bringer of peace and the guarantor of peace, the Augustan peace in whose honour the Ara Pacis was constituted just a year before Augustus established the monument at Lugdunum.

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[134] Weinstock, *o.c.* 2419; cf. *HThR* 50 (1957), 239, citing Suet., *Tib.* 17, 2.

[135] This sort of honour goes back to Caesar and Pompey; see above, note 78.

[136] Hölscher 152, 159, noting the case of M. Licinius Crassus. The idea has its roots in Caesar's time: above, note 127.

[137] Weinstock, *o.c.* 2591 f.; *DJ* 111 f. He stresses that Augustus preferred the less personal adjectival form.

[138] Degrassi, *InscrIt* 13, 2, pp. 279, 441 f. *ad* 15th April. The entry relates to the battle of Mutina (43 B.C.), which evidently came to be seen as the occasion of the nativity of Victoria Augusta. The divinity herself, however, was surely created much later; cf. Hölscher 161; *contra* Fears, "Theology of Victory" 742. Curiously, we also hear of a Victoria Mariana at Mutina; above, note 119.

[139] So Weinstock, *o.c.* 2519.

[140] See "Augustan Blessings and Virtues" below, Vol. II.

[141] See R. O. Fink, "*Victoria Parthica* and kindred *Victoriae*", *YCS* 8 (1942), 81-101; P. Kneissl, *Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser* (Hypomnemata 23), Göttingen, 1969.

The Victories at Lugdunum are therefore to be explained in terms of an Augustan theology of victory, by the relevance of victory to the new Augustan order with its aims, ideals and achievements. They guard the altar exactly as one, sometimes two Victories hold the *clupeus virtutis*, surrounded as it often is with the civic crown and accompanied by laurels.[144] Just as in the *Res Gestae* a detailed account of Augustan victories and triumphal honours is presented as the key to Augustus' civil career and achievements, so the Victories at Lugdunum frame the monument on which are displayed the symbols commemorating those achievements. Significantly it was *ca.* 15-12 B.C. that the mint of Lugdunum began to strike coins bearing on the obverse the head of Augustus and on the reverse representations of Apollo or Diana;[145] as their legends confirm, these issues sound the old theme of victory at Actium over Anthony and at Naulochus over Sextus Pompeius. The series coincides with the year in which Augustus finally succeeded to the post of Pontifex Maximus on the death of Lepidus, a time when he was busy in the field of religion—in effect re-organizing the state worship round his own person—and it is surely a reflection of the same policy that Victory is so strongly emphasized in the first monument of the imperial cult in the Latin West, established in the very year of his pontificate. There can be no question, then, that the association with Victory is by far the likeliest explanation of the date when the altar was dedicated: 1st August. Whether the day also coincided with a contemporary festival of Lug or not, the *Fasti* show that 1st August was the *natalis* of the temples of Victoria and Victoria Virgo, both on the Palatine.[146] More significantly, perhaps, it was on this same day that Octavian triumphed at Alexandria and Anthony met his death.[147] At all events, the date was one of particular significance in the Roman calendar[148] and ample Roman precedent can be adduced for setting 1st August as the day the altar was dedicated, the inferred date of the annual festival at Lugdunum, perhaps also the occasion when the high priest of the cult took office.

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[142] Fears, "Theology of Victory" 737-740.

[143] Fears 805 f.

[144] Above, notes 102, 107 f.

[145] Mattingly, *BMC* 1, pp. cxv, 79 f., 82-84; Robertson, *HCC* 1, pp. xliii, 38-40. The series continues down to 9 B.C.

(e) The Outer Reliefs

The connection with Victory gives the clue to the figured reliefs at either extremity of the monument. These have been variously interpreted. Dragendorff remarked that on some issues they had the appearance of a tripod, on others of a small boy.[149] The first alternative was taken up by Audin and Quoniam, who refer to tripods, each surmounted by a crown, and suggest an association with the office of Pontifex Maximus assumed by Augustus in 12 B.C.[150] Tripods, however, are usually represented with upright vertical feet,[151] which is hardly the case with these figures, and it is difficult to see what a crown above a tripod could be intended to convey. That the outside reliefs certainly show crowns[152] seems nevertheless confirmed by what look the better preserved of the extant "altar" coins (cf. Pl. I: b); but, if so, what sort of crowns? No monument or coin shows three civic oak crowns, so the only possibility in practice is that these are crowns of laurel, as Audin and Quoniam did in fact recognize. If so, then the crowns at either end must be Victory crowns corresponding to the crowns held by the two statues of Victory,[153] a composition that makes good sense artistically and is certainly in keeping with the ideology and general symbolism of the monument: the crowns flank the insignia of Augustus' civil achievements just as the Victories flank the monument as a whole. But in that case what is represented below the crowns must surely be not tripods but ribbons or fillets—exactly as with the central *corona civica.* Fillets are shown in varying detail on practically all coins and monuments with the very common figure of Victory[154] and similar fillets are certainly represented hanging immediately below the crowns held by the attendant Victories on the Lugdunum coins. The principal difference between these and the fillets below the outer crowns on the altar is that the latter are shown with intersecting loops, though not in so complex an arrangement as the ribbons below the central civic crown. In any event corroboration of this interpretation is possibly to be seen in a coin from the Hunter collection where the fillets below the oak crown are stylized and very much the same form is reproduced below the outer laurel crowns (Pl. XI: a)—thus confirming that a similar object was intended below each crown; though difficult to see, the fillets below the crowns held by the Victories on this coin seem also to be shown in the same way.[155] If this interpretation is correct, then what we have on the front face of the altar is a coherent group of imperial insignia that include the triumphal crown of laurel with the civic crown of oak and the two laurel trees of Augustus.

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[146] Wissowa, *RuKR*² 140 f.; Latte, *RRG* 234, 235, n. 3 with refs. See now Fears, "Theology of Victory" 782 f., who suggests a possible political motive behind the dedication of the shrine of Victoria Virgo in 193 B.C. by M. Porcius Cato, the opponent of Scipio Africanus the Elder.

[147] Degrassi, *InscrIt* 13, 2, pp. 489-491; P. Herz, *Untersuchungen zum Festkalender der römischen Kaiserzeit nach datierten Weih-und Ehreninschriften*, Mainz, 1975, 517, n. 1; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste des Prinzipatszeit", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978), 1135-1200 at 1147 f.

[148] On 1st August the *vicomagistri* took office in Rome during Augustus' lifetime; Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 23; Herz, *Festkalender* (above, note 147) 248; also municipal *Augustales* seem to have been appointed on this day (*CIL* 10, 112 = *ILS* 6467). On the other hand the case for assigning the festival of Mars Ultor and the *ludi Martiales* to 1st August now looks weaker in the light of C. J. Simpson's arguments, "The Date of Dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor", *JRS* 67 (1977), 91-94; cf. W. K. Lacey, *JRS* 69 (1979), 29, n. 14.

[149] Above, note 57, 116.

[150] Above, note 54, 108. For the background to the view see Turcan, "Autel" (above, note 5) 629, n. 103 with bibl.

[151] See, for example, Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume*, Tafel XXV, 2; XXVII, 1-2.

[152] Recognized by E. Poncet and L.-B. Morel, "Le revers des monnaies dites à l'autel de Lyon", RN 4th ser., 8 (1904) 46-63 at 56; cf. Turcan, "Autel" 629.

The alternative interpretation of Dragendorff seems nevertheless to have been the inspiration of Alföldi's view that the objects at either extremity of the altar are rather figures.[156] He takes these to represent the dancing Lares that accompany other principal emblems of the régime, particularly on the altars of the *vicomagistri,* and stresses that they are reproduced on the altar coins in greatly simplified form: "Ihre in der Art von Kinderzeichnungen grob vereinfachte Wiedergabe..."[157] The illustration Alföldi happens to give bears no resemblance to the dancing Lares and is surely to be interpreted rather as a simplification of the Victory crowns (Pl. XI: b). However, if we turn to a coin in the Hunter collection, one of the few examples of its kind to be illustrated in the numismatic catalogues, there can be no doubt that one type does indeed correspond to Dragendorff's description (Pl. XII: a).[158] In that case the most likely interpretation is surely that of Alföldi, namely that these are Lares (Pl. XII: b), who appear on the altar of the Three Gauls just as elsewhere on the monuments they are frequently associated with the civic crown and the laurel trees, occasionally also with Victoria.[159] The twin Lares must therefore be considered a variant motif,[160] though without any bearing, say, on the nature of the cult, which at Lugdunum cannot have had any connection with the Lares Augusti worshipped at the Compitalia in Rome. It does, however, follow that this particular type cannot have been introduced earlier than 7 B.C., the time when Augustus established the cult of his *genius* between the two Lares at the 265 crossroads of Rome. Presumably their presence on the "altar" coins is to be attributed simply to the fact that the engraver has attempted to vary the type by substituting Lares for Victory crowns. While the crowns on the altar itself can hardly have been removed to make way for the Lares—only to be replaced by crowns again, as shown by later coins—it is perfectly possible that Lares were sculpted on one of the altar's faces in 7 B.C. or later and that the engraver has preferred to emphasize these rather than the Victory crowns on what is clearly a variant issue.[161]

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[153] For the laurel wreath see A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche,* Darmstadt, 1970, 137 f. with bibl.; Weinstock, *DJ* 107.

[154] Cf. Hölscher, *Victoria* Tafeln 1, 1 f.; 2, 2; 6, 9; 8, 2; 9, 8; 12, 2; 14, 9.

[155] Robertson, *HCC,* 1, p. 46, no. 240 (Pl. 7).

[156] For earlier versions of the theory see Turcan, "Autel" 628, n. 102 with bibl.

[157] *Lorbeerbäume* 37 with Tafel V, 1.

[158] *HCC* 1, p. 46, no. 237 (Pl. 7). Robertson's commentary is unexceptionable "To l. and r. of branches on altar, male figures standing l. and r." This particular coin is dated to A.D. 8-11 by Tiberius' fifth acclamation as *imperator.* For a further example of the type see Sutherland-Kraay, *Catalogue Ashmolean Museum* (above, note 50) pl. 9, no. 374 (A.D. 8-11).

(f) The Objects above the Altar

Above the altar can be seen a number of objects that vary from type to type and are of uncertain interpretation. Audin and Quoniam take these to be in most cases tripods, six or eight in number, with two at the centre noticeably higher than the rest and bearing crowns and orbs; on the lateral tripods they recognize "pommes pythiques à moins qui'il ne s'agisse de cassolettes où brûlaient l'encens".[162] At first sight this seems a plausible explanation, at least in part (cf. Pl. I: b). The implements and utensils associated with the offering of sacrifice are well known from the literary sources and a frequent theme on coins and reliefs,[163] while the role of sacrifice in the imperial cult, particularly offerings of incense and wine, is fairly well documented from its very beginnings in the western empire.[164] It would not be unreasonable to suggest, then, that at the centre of the altar are tripods[165] bearing a pan for coals (*focus* or *foculus*) on which incense would be burned,[166] wine poured, or the *exta* of victims consumed,[167] and that at either end smaller *turibula* may be intended or, on some coins, lighted lamps,[168] which certainly played a role in the ruler cult.[169] Any interpretation along these lines, however, has now been ruled out by a recent article of R. Turcan in which for the first time a select dossier of photographs is provided, including some of the very earliest "altar" coins.[170] There can be no question that Turcan's contribution to the problem is the most important yet to appear, even if his conclusions give rise to doubts and prove largely unacceptable.

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[159] Cf., for example, *Lorbeerbäume* Tafeln X, 2; XI, 1-2; XIV, 1-2; XXIV, 1; Hölscher 109, n. 681 with drawing; cf. n. 682. The gesture of the figures on the coin is slightly different.

[160] D. Fishwick, "Une variante des monnaies dites 'à l'autel de Lyon'", *Bull. des Musées et Monuments Lyonnais* 7 (1982-86), 263-268.

[161] For the view that what is shown on coins is not necessarily a faithful copy of the original see Th. Drew-Bear, "Representations of Temples on the Greek Imperial Coinage", *ANSMusN* 19 (1974), 27-63.

[162] Above, note 54, 108. See in general D. Fasciano, "La pomme dans la mythologie gréco-romaine" in *Mélanges d'Études anciennes offerts à Maurice Lebel*, Québec, 1980, 45-55.

[163] Marquardt (above, note 46) 164, 167 f.; G. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, Berlin, 1874, 93.

[164] See "Liturgy and Ceremonial" below, Vol. II. For sacrifice see in general S. R. F. Price, "Between Man and God: Sacrifice in the Roman Imperial Cult", *JRS* 70 (1980), 28-43.

Turcan begins from the fundamental and unobjectionable principle that all discussion must be based upon the earliest coins we happen to have, even if they are of inferior manufacture or less well preserved than later issues; a coin struck late in Augustus' reign or under Tiberius may be much clearer but is of little help for documentary purposes if the objects above the altar have by this time already become simplified or abbreviated (Pls. I, XI-XII: a).[171] What the earliest types do in fact reveal is that these objects were originally small busts (Pls. XIII-XV: a, c; XVI)—first(?) two, later(?) three—on either side of two central "niches" or baldaquins, within each of which there appears to stand an upright object (Pls. XV: b-f; cf. XIII: b, XIV, XV:a).[172] To execute these busts was obviously a difficult task for the die-engraver, so it is not surprising that they were quickly stylised and took on the appearance of tripods, orbs or lighted lamps. As a glance at the coins will confirm, Turcan's identification of the objects above the altar as "bustes anthropoïdes" is certainly correct and must serve as the starting point for all further study. But difficulties accumulate once one turns to the interpretation of the nature and significance of these busts. Turcan himself revives the earlier hypothesis of Dragendorff[173] that what can be seen on the coins is not in fact an altar—an oblong altar is certainly unusual and different from the normal Greco-Roman square altar[174]—but rather the precincts of one, an altar wall of the kind familiar from the Ara Pacis.[175] If so, the objects above the altar cannot be standing on the *mensa* and Turcan consequently proposes that they are intended to represent figures *behind* the *peribolos*—that is, they are shown in perspective in the background: he suggests they could represent the *eikones* of the sixty tribes which according to Strabo (4, 3, 2; p. 192) stood in the sanctuary (above, p. 102). As for the two baldaquins, Turcan wonders whether these might house statues of Roma and Augustus—perhaps in the centre of the *hieron*, behind the sacrificial *ara* (of which there is no trace on the coins in Turcan's view).[176]

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[165] Above, note 151. But see the objections of Turcan, "Autel" 630-632.

[166] See Pl. XIV.

[167] Note Augustus' reaction to the news that a palm-tree had miraculously sprung up on the municipal altar of Tarraco: *apparet quam saepe accendatis* (Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 6, 3, 77).

[168] For the common use of lighted lamps or candles in cults of all kinds see Nilsson, *GGR*³2, 374-377 with refs.; R. MacMullan, *Paganism in the Roman Empire*, Yale, 1981, 45.

[169] There seems no possibility that these objects could be baetyls, for which see Nilsson, *GGR*³1, 280; A. J. Pfiffig, *Religio Etrusca*, Graz, 1975, 371-375.

[170] Above, note 5. For documentation of the coins illustrated below see "List of Plates", pp. 190-193.

[171] *O.c.* 623 f., 632, 638. Simplification is already apparent on coins struck from 2 B.C.: *ibid.* pl. V, cf. pls. XI, XIV, XV. How far this process could go is shown by 'barbarous' copies in which the Victories are abbreviated to upright spears, the objects above the altar to simple bars, and the emblems on the front face of the monument to bars and dots. For facsimiles see A. Bernard, *Le Temple d'Auguste et la Nationalité Gauloise*, Lyon, 1863, pl. 6 (following p. 172); cf. p. 138 f.; further Turcan 616, n. 42 with refs.

[172] Turcan 633 f. For two busts to left and right see, for example, *ibid.*, pls. III, IV(2), VI, VII, VIII, IX, XII, XIII; cf. Mattingly, *BMC* 1, pl. 20, no. 20; Sutherland-Kraay, *Catalogue Ashmolean Museum* pl. 8, 339-342. For three busts on either side see Turcan pls. IV(1), V, XIV; *BMC* 1, pl. 21, nos. 1-4; Sutherland-Kraay 337 f., 347; pl. 9, 371 ff. *et passim*. A standing object within the central canopies is clearly visible in Turcan pls. III, VI, VII(2), VIII, IX, XIII(1, 4), XIV(3); *BMC* 1, pl. 20, no. 20.

A number of objections tell strongly against this hypothesis. If the main objection to identifying the oblong slab on the coins as an altar is its shape, it may fairly be noted that all coins portraying the Ara Pacis or its descendants of the precinct type show a square, not oblong structure—in this case undoubtedly the façade of the *peribolos*—and that in the centre of this square wall appears a door.[177] In other words, even if Strabo's βωμός could be interpreted to mean the *temenos* as a whole,[178] none of the examples we have of this type of altar bears the slightest resemblance to what is shown on the Lugdunum coins. The oblong configuration is certainly unusual but the altar of Fortuna Redux, dedicated at Rome in 19 B.C.,[179] appears as slightly oblong on some coins[180] and an apparently oblong altar is sculpted on the relief of Domitius Ahenobarbus.[181] It is true that the character of this particular structure is put beyond doubt by its association with the rite of the *suovetaurilia*; but, if the objects above the monument on the Lugdunum coins have a demonstrably cultual significance, they would confirm that this, too, is an altar and not a precinct wall. It might be added in parenthesis that the proportions of the altar were not necessarily the same in reality as those reproduced on the coins (where they tend to vary): the top of the *mensa* may well have been square[182] and the oblong extension of the front face[183] could be partly in order to accommodate the motifs and objects shown above.[184] No one thinks, for example, that the pillars and figures of Victory at either side are shown in their true proportions either to the altar or to the objects above it.[185] As for the "bustes anthropoïdes", if they were intended to represent the *eikones* of the sixty tribes (no tract of which has yet been found), then these statues might well have stood near the altar but surely not within the *peribolos.* So on Turcan's interpretation one would have to imagine them looking over the *back* wall of the *peribolos.* In any case it seems a strange idea to incorporate such statues on a type where everything else focuses immediately upon the emperor and the cult of Roma and Augustus.

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[173] Above, note 57.

[174] Hermann, *Götteraltäre* (above, note 48) throughout.

[175] *O.c.* 619-628, 635 f., cf. 638 ff.

[176] *O.c.* 636 f., cf. 641 f.

[177] Mattingly, *BMC* 1, pp. 271 f., nos. 360-5; Scott Ryberg, *Rites* (above, note 36) 64-80; Turcan, *o.c.* 625, n. 86 with bibl.; cf. 640, nn. 165-167. The Ara Pacis remained unique in Italy until the reign of Tiberius. For similar altars in the East see Turcan 639 ff.; he suggests that at Lugdunum doors may have existed on the sides of the *peribolos* that are invisible on the coins.

[178] So Turcan 610, 636.

[179] See "*Templum Divo Claudio Constitutum*", below, Vol. I, 2, pp. 203 ff.

[180] Mattingly, *BMC* 1, pl. 1, no. 2; pl. 7, nos. 10, 3. Turcan 625 with n. 85 objects that the altar of Fortuna Redux shows lateral *pulvini*. But any possibility of showing these or any other detail (horns, *acroteria*, *focus*) above the monument on the Lugdunum coins is precluded by the presence of the objects above it, which pre-empt the space available.

[181] Scott Ryberg, *Rites* 28 ff., pl. VIII, fig. 17b; Turcan 626 with n. 87 and bibl.; see further Torelli, *Typology* (above, note 6) 5-25. Turcan 625 with n. 81 notes large, oblong altars at Syracuse and Cyrene. A similar altar stood before the temple of Aphaia on Aegina and of Asclepius at Messene, for example.

In view of these difficulties it is surely preferable to retain the standard view that what appears on the coins is the altar itself, not an altar wall,[186] and that the objects shown above it are standing on it, not behind in the distance. For the identification and purpose of the busts we may turn to what is known of imperial ritual in the Eastern provinces, for example at Gytheum under Tiberius, later at Athens, Ephesus and other centres. A key point that has emerged from recent discussion is that a central rite of the ruler cult was the transportation of busts of the emperor and members of his family by special bearers; normally kept in the *pronaos* of the imperial temple, the busts were carried to places of assembly (for example the theatre) on high feasts such as the emperor's birthday.[187] The rite at these centres belongs to the cult in its Greek idiom but parallels are familiar at Rome in such processions as the theatrical *pompa* or the *pompa circensis.* Traces may occur in the West at Tarraco (*CIL* 2, 4230) and Emerita (*CIL* 2, 5264) and there is a provision for the purchase of statues or busts from funds earmarked for religious purposes in the provincial charter of Narbonensis (*CIL* 12, 6038 ll. 26 f.).[188] There seems good reason to suggest, then, that the two or three figures shown on the left and right of the altar[189] are imperial busts that were likewise intended to be carried in procession and it is possible that on some coins small statues may also be represented (Pls XIII: b, XV: d).[190] Attention may be drawn in this connection to an unpublished *sestertius* in the coin collection of the University of Heidelberg, which seems to show walking figures with hand outstretched as if in the act of sacrificing; conceivably the engraver intended to depict portable statues that represented, if not imperial personages, then the various groups or bodies that participated in the federal worship (Pl. XVII).[191] Where such statues and busts were lodged in the absence of a temple can hardly be said but presumably they would have been in the keeping of the high priest.[192]

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[182] The top of an altar (rather than a precinct wall) is conceivably suggested by Turcan pl. III (1, 2), cf. IV(1), VII(2).

[183] Similarly on the coinage of Caesarea an *agalma* of Mt. Argaeus appears above an elongated altar: W. Wroth, *Cat. Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria* xxxviii f.; p. 72, nos. 212 ff.; p. 80 f. nos. 270 ff. *et passim.*

[184] A large altar would be also required by the dedication *Romae et Augusto* (below p. 125) and the names of the 60 tribes (above, p. 102); Turcan 637 suggests these will have been inscribed on the *peribolos.*

[185] See Turcan 617 f. for the varying height of the columns reproduced on the coins.

[186] For the possibility of a similar scheme at Camulodunum see "*Templum Divo Claudio Constitutum*", below Vol. I, 2, p. 200.

[187] L. Robert, "Inscription d'Athènes", *REA* 62 (1960), 316-324. See in general "Liturgy and Ceremonial", below, Vol. II; further Addenda, pp. 188, 189.

As for the two baldaquins housing some vertical object,[193] if these are shown at the centre of an altar which served Roma and Augustus, they must surely be connected with the cult. One would therefore assume that what is represented on the coins are two *aediculae* within each of which is a statuette, one of Roma, the other of Augustus, exactly as two cult statues of Roma and Augustus stood in the imperial temple at Caesarea (below, p. 129).[194] The vertical object immediately above the *aediculae* is always shown centrally[195] rising from the roof of the canopy (it later becomes stylised as an 'apple'),[196] and hence presumably formed part of the canopy structure. Whether this could be used as a handle by which the repositories housing (and displaying) the holy things might themselves be carried in procession along with the imperial busts must remain very speculative (Pls. XIII: b, XV: b, c, e, f, XVI, XVII).[197] What looks at all events clear from the coins is that the conical top of the baldaquins resembled very closely the head-gear worn by the imperial *flamen* on the model of the hats (*galeri* with *apex*) that distinguished the *pontifices* and *flamines* at Rome;[198] as *pontifex maximus*, Augustus himself will have worn such a hat. Apart from its religious significance the *apex* was also an emblem of royalty,[199] so its incorporation above the two baldaquins would be particularly appropriate had these held likenesses of Roma and Augustus. If this interpretation is correct, then what is shown on the "altar" coins of Lugdunum is the most important testimony yet provided by the Western provinces for a rite of the ruler cult otherwise known almost entirely from its manifestation in the Greek East.[200] It provides a fundamental contribution to our knowledge of the imperial worship at Lugdunum, Tarraco, Emerita and doubtless elsewhere in the West, and adds enormously to the historical significance of the "altar" coins.

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[188] D. Fishwick, "A Gold Bust of Titus at Emerita", *AJAH* 6 (1981), 86-96. See further "The Provincial Cult of Gallia Narbonensis: Three Temples at Narbo" below Vol. I, 2,p. 242 f. Allmer-Dissard, *Inscriptions* (above, note 9) 2, 53 f. imply that these *statuas imaginesve* will have been equestrian statues in gilded bronze. While this seems unlikely, the possibility remains that *statuas* may refer to imperial statues destined for the *cella* but not necessarily intended to be carried. For an inventory of such statues and busts see, for example, *AEpig* (1940) no. 62 with the commentary of P. Herz, "Kaiserbilder aus Ostia", *BCAR* 87 (1980-81), 145-157.

[189] Above, note 172.

[190] One must beware of putting too fine a point on what may simply be bad workmanship but see Turcan pls. VI, VIII, XII, XIII(2); Sutherland-Kraay, *Catalogue Ashmolean Museum* pl. 8, 340. All of these show an upright object in between the two canopies as well as elsewhere; cf. Turcan pl. IV(2).

[191] D. Fishwick, "An Altar Coin at Heidelberg," in W. Heckel and R. A. Sullivan (edd.), *Ancient Coins of the Graeco-Roman World. The Nickle Numismatic Papers*, Waterloo, Ontario, 1984, 159-164; B. Holtheide, "Eine neue Altar-Münze des Augustus", *GNS* forthcoming. See further Liturgy and Ceremonial, below, Vol. II.

[192] For the office at Athens of ζάκορος (sacristan) of the imperial busts see Robert (above, note 187) 316. Conceivably the images will have been kept in the *curia* (below, p. 136).

[193] Above, note 187. Cf. two *aediculae* from Syria: H. Seyrig, "Deux reliquaires", *Syria* 36 (1959), 43-48.

[194] The arrangement would thus resemble that in the legionary *principia*, where the emperor's statue was set up on a raised *suggestus* along with the standards and portable *imagines* of past and present rulers that were fastened to the staffs carried by *imaginiferi*. Cf. D. Fishwick, *Studies in Roman Imperial History*, Leiden, 1977, 59.

[195] See Turcan pls. III(2), VI, VII(1), VIII, XIII(2, 4); Sutherland-Kraay, *Catalogue* pl. 8, 340 (?) *et passim*.

[196] Turcan pl. V *et passim*.

(g) The Dedication

The final point of interest is the legend ROM. ET AVG. This appears immediately below the altar on the coins and has been thought to reproduce an actual inscription, possibly attested by archaeological remains (above, p. 105). Where is that case the lettering could have stood is a matter for conjecture: on the coins ROM. ET AVG. appears in its normal place in the exergue, so there seems no good reason to suppose an inscription on a ledge immediately below the altar as has sometimes been suggested. With no room on the front face one would have to locate the lettering elsewhere on the altar—conceivably above (?) the names of the 60 tribes mentioned by Strabo. Whatever the facts may be, the coin legends confirm that the altar is dedicated to the goddess Roma and to the living emperor. The combination of the two is by far the most significant feature of the monument since it defines the nature of the worship offered at Lugdunum, thus establishing a precedent for the Latin West.[201]

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[197] The central baldaquins were clearly not intended to shelter the *focus* on the model of the cupola above the small altar sculpted on the relief of the Haterii: Turcan 626 f. with n. 91, citing similar examples elsewhere. Such canopies covered the whole altar, to which they were fixed, as shown by the altar of Aufidia Antiochis (Musée Gallo-Romain, Lyon), which retains vestiges of the clamps by which the covering was permanently attached. On the Lugdunum coins the *aediculae* have rather the look of tabernacles and resemble in shape that at the *back* of an altar on a marble relief from the Louvre: Turcan *ibid.* citing M. P. Nilsson, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age*, Lund, 1957, 83 with fig. 15; the precise purpose of this object is unclear. It may be noted that in the *pompé* of Ptolemy Philadelphos (above, p. 14) the great statue of Dionysus stood beneath a canopy (σκιάς) and that the seated statue of Nysa was likewise placed beneath a canopy (*Athenaeus* 5, 198D, F). See in general MacMullen, *Paganism* (above, note 46) 27 f. For portable *aediculae* see Dar.-Sag.1, 1 (1877) (1962) 94 f., figs. 135, 137.

[198] Dar.-Sag. 2, 2 (1896) (1963) 1156-1188 at 1168 f., cf. 1179 s.v. *flamen* (Jullian); *RE* 1, 2 (1894) 2699 f. (Habel); *cf.* Pl. XXXII: a. See further Scott Ryberg, *Rites* 44 f., cf. 14, 18. Weinstock, *DJ* pl. 31 (facing p. 410).

[199] Jullian (above, note 198), citing Horace, *Odes* 3, 21, 20: *regum apices neque militum arma.* Tarquin was said to have been given the royal *apex* by an eagle: Cic., *De leg.* 1, 1, 4.

[200] D. Fishwick, "Les monnaies dites 'a l'autel de Lyon': interpretation des motifs figurés audessus du monument", *Bull. des Musées et Monuments Lyonnais* 7 (1982-86), 131-138.

For the background to this form of cult we must turn to the East, where a key decision taken eighteen years or so earlier by Octavian had provided the point of departure for the worship of the emperor by the provinces of the Roman empire. Dio reports that in the winter of 30/29 B.C. Octavian gave permission for sacred precincts to be dedicated to Roma and Divus Iulius at Ephesus and Nicaea, where he commanded resident Roman citizens to participate in the cult: ...καὶ τεμένη τῇ τε Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τῳ Καίσαρι, ἥρωα αὐτὸν Ἰούλιον ὀνομάσας, ἔν τε Ἐφέσῳ καὶ ἐν Νικαίᾳ γενέσθαι ἐφῆκεν. But for alien provincials the ruling was that they might pay cult to Augustus himself, provided that Dea Roma had her place in the worship.[202] The Bithynians were to consecrate a precinct in Nicomedia, the Asians one at Pergamum, which as the site of the new temple was to hold the sacred *agon* connected with the cult (51, 20, 6-7). In point of fact Dio omits to mention Roma but her inclusion at Pergamum is recorded by Tacitus (*Ann.*, 4, 37) and confirmed here and elsewhere by the combined numismatic[203] and epigraphical evidence. The doctrine itself is set out most clearly by Suetonis: *templa quamvis sciret etiam proconsulibus decerni solere in nulla tamen provincia nisi suo Romaeque nomine recepit* (*Aug.* 52).

The accounts of both Dio and Tacitus make it clear that Octavian was reacting to proposals that had been put forward independently by the respective *koina* of the Asians and Bithynians and will presumably, therefore, have differed in detail.[204] That *isotheoi timai* should be offered to the new master of the world was the natural outcome of Octavian's victory at Actium, as a result of which he succeeded to the form of honours traditionally bestowed in the

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[201] E. Beurlier, *Le Culte impérial. Son histoire et son organisation depuis Auguste jusqu' à Justinien*, Paris, 1891, 16, 19.

[202] Wissowa, *RuKR*² 80, 341 f.; Latte, *RRG* 306, n. 3, 315; Nilsson, *GGR*³2, 385 f.; Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 17; Weinstock, *DJ* 403: Habicht, "Augusteische Zeit" (above, note 27) 55, cf. 94; R. J. Mellor, ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ *The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World* (Hypomnemata 42), Göttingen, 1975, 79 f., 138; *id.*, "The Goddess Roma", *ANRW* 2, 17, 2 (1981) 950-1030 at 978; C. Fayer, *Il Culto della Dea Roma. Origine e diffusione nell' Impero*, Pescara, 1976, 107-127. See further Addenda, p. 188.

[203] Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 52, 61, n. 4; D. Mannsperger, "ROM. ET AUG. Die Selbstdarstellung des Kaisertums in der römischen Reichsprägung", *ANRW* 2, 1 (1974) 919-996 at 926, n. 13; Mellor, "Goddess Roma" *l.c.*; Prayon (above, note 99) 326, suggesting that the coins may show the projected temple. The cult at Pergamum replaced an existing one of Roma and Salus: Le Glay (above, note 71) 549.

[204] Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 18; Mellor, ΡΩΜΗ (above, note 202) 79 f.; Habicht, *o.c.* 56-64; cf. Wlosok (above, note 75) 44-46. See further Addenda p. 188.

Greek world in recognition of the blessings bestowed by a ruler or benefactor.[205] As Suetonius observes, Octavian was well aware that divine honours had been paid to Caesar and earlier Roman governors of Asia, and blank refusal on his part of similar tokens of loyalty or of gratitude for the peace he had brought would have given offence to the Asians and Bithynians, perhaps even undermined the credibility of his own authority. On the other hand, if he was to avoid the mistakes of Caesar and set himself apart from Anthony with his pretentions to divinity, it was vital that whatever honours he accepted should be politically acceptable by avoiding all taint of monarchy. One can only conclude, therefore, that Octavian took his decision with an eye to public opinion in Rome and the provinces and that the forms of cult he did accept—no doubt well short of what had originally been proposed—were very much of his own choosing, if not exactly of his own making.[206] This must be particularly true of the emphasis on Roma and Divus Iulius, neither of which corresponded to a wish on the part of the provincials to honour their new master, the victor of Actium.

In the long run, however, by far the most important aspect of Octavian's regulations was the form of cult he prescribed for the Hellenes. The deliberate association of Roma with himself was a combination politically less sensitive than would have been a cult of Octavian alone.[207] Roma had long been worshipped in the Greek east and there was even a precedent at hand in the priesthood of Roma and P. Servilius Isauricus, proconsul of Asia in 46-44 B.C., not that we know whether Augustus had this in mind.[208] What does seem clear is that Roma took on a fresh meaning after Actium when Octavian began to give a special place—at least in the provinces—to a deity who until now had never played a major role at Rome. U. Knoche has shown that Roma now became the embodiment of the imperial city and state, the *res Romana*, and that in her combination with Augustus we have a symbolic union of "Reichsgedanke" and "Kaisergedanke".[209] This metamorphosis, by which

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[205] Nilsson, *GGR*³2, 177-180, 389 f.; G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford, 1965, 112-116; Wlosok, *o.c.* 42. See in general "Divinity and Worship", above, p. 32.

[206] Habicht, *o.c.* 76-85, suggests that the attitude taken by Octavian in the winter of 30-29 B.C. may have established the precedent for the celebrated formula by which later emperors 'refused' divine honours: in allowing the cult of Roma and himself Octavian will have stressed that he was a man, not a God. This could well be so as far as the imperial house is concerned but Cicero for one had already refused similar honours in similar terms; see M. P. Charlesworth, "Some Observations on Ruler-Cult, especially in Rome," *HThR* 28 (1935), 5-44 at 21 with Cic., *Ad Qu. fr.* 1, 1, 26; *Ad Att.* 5, 21, 7; cf. S. Weinstock, "Treueid und Kaiserkult", *MDAI(A)* 77 (1962), 306-327 at 318.

[207] Strictly speaking, the cult of Roma and Augustus began in 27 B.C.; before then Roma will have been combined with *Imperator Caesar divi filius*; cf. Habicht, *o.c.* 83.

[208] Mellor, ΡΩΜΗ 80, 138. See "Rome and the Ruler Cult", above, pp. 50 f. with notes 28 f.

[209] U. Knoche, "Die augusteische Ausprägung der dea Roma," *Gymnasium* 59 (1952), 324-349.

Roma became essentially a new creation, can be dated to the period when Octavian was busy with his constitutional settlement, and it is in her new Augustan idiom that Roma is now celebrated by the court poets, who stress her close relationship with Augustus.[210] In Rome itself Roma was still kept discreetly in the background—indeed she was not to enter the circle of state deities until the time of Hadrian[211]—but already by 9 B.C. she may appear on the reliefs of the Ara Pacis, the most important iconographic evidence we possess for the ideology of the Augustan regime.[212] Attention might also be drawn to the link between Roma and Victory. On the view of Weinstock and others,[213] the association can be traced back over the last century on coins and monuments, but is in any event graphically attested by a relief from the altar of the *gens Augusta* at Carthage, where Roma holds in her hand a Victory who secures the *clupeus virtutis* to a pillar (above, p. 111).[214] For the combination of Roma with Augustus himself, however, our most striking piece of evidence is the well known *Gemma Augustea* of the late Augustan period.[215] Here the two are shown enthroned besides each other on terms of equality, Augustus with the attributes of Jupiter, while between them the sign of Capricorn, under which Augustus was conceived, suggests among other themes an astrological bond.[216] The concept reappears on a Vienna cameo, which again shows Roma seated now on the same throne with a figure usually taken to be Augustus,[217] and is then repeated in one representation after another from the first to the third centuries.[218]

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[210] Cf. for example, Ovid, *Pont.* 2, 8, 19 f.:

Hunc ego cum spectem, videar mihi cernere Romam;
nam patriae faciem sustinet ille suae.

The topic is well treated by Mellor, "Goddess Roma" 972-975, 1004-1010.

[211] Weinstock, "Treueid" (above, note 206) 312 with bibl. For the later development of Roma Aeterna see R. Turcan, "Le culte impérial au III^e siècle", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 996-1084 at 1069-71; Mellor, "Goddess Roma" (above, note 202) 1018 ff.

[212] Scott Ryberg, *Rites* (above, note 36) 38-48; Simon (above, note 6) throughout; S. Weinstock "Pax and the 'Ara Pacis'," *JRS* 50 (1960), 44-58; Brunt and Moore (above, note 86) 53 f. For the iconography of Roma in the imperial period see C. C. Vermeule, *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman Empire*^{2}, Cambridge, Mass., 1974. See now Mellor, "Goddess Roma" 1015.

[213] See "Rome and the Ruler Cult", above, p. 50, note 25.

[214] Weinstock, *RE* 8A 2 (1958) 2522, 2536 f.; *DJ* 93-96, 100; Scott Ryberg, *o.c.* 89 f.; Hölscher, *Victoria* 104, n. 641 with bibl. See further R. Chevallier, "*Dea Roma Nicephore sur une intaille*" in *Mél. A. Bruhl I*: *RAE* 24 (1973), 361-374; Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 51, n. 204 with bibl. The relief is now reproduced in *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 946 with commentary. The date of the altar (Augustan, post-Augustan, Hadrianic?) is uncertain but the relief may be based in any case upon a prototype of the Augustan age in Rome.

[215] Taylor, Divinity 226 f.; H. Kähler, *Alberti Rubeni, Dissertatio de Gemma Augustea* (Monumenta Artis Romanae 9), Berlin, 1968; H. G. Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung der römischen Kaiser* (Monumenta Artis Romanae 7), Berlin, 1968, 60 with nn. 509 f. and bibl.; J. R. Fears, *Princeps a Diis Electus* (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 26) Rome, 1977, 207 f. with bibl.; H. von Hesberg, "Archäologische Denkmäler zum römischen Kaiserkult", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 911-995 at 982 f. with commentary; Pollini, *Augustan Reliefs* (above, note 6) 173-254.

[216] For Capricorn see now Fears, "Theology of Victory" (above, note 68) 809 f.; further Pollini, *ibid.* 193 f.

To combine the personification of the imperial city with the person of the ruler was a happy idea for in a sense the two are really aspects of the same concept—a point that becomes clearer in later years when Augustus is used impersonally to denote the reigning emperor whoever he may be; by this stage the cult of the emperor is the cult of the Augustus by virtue of his position, not his accomplishments.[219] Yet, as the word order shows, it was Roma who was given prior importance in the Augustan scheme; cf. *senatus populusque Romanus.*[220] The combination of the two is, in fact, a classic example of the partnership within a cult of a god with a man, thereby giving him a share in the honours directed to the deity but without expressly making him a god; parallels to this arrangement can be found in the Hellenistic world, as Nock's seminal study has demonstrated.[221] At Pergamum and Nicomedia new temples were constructed where the partnership will have been expressed by a cult statue for each[222]—just as at Caearea, where Herod set up colossal statues of Roma and Augustus in a magnificent temple (Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* 1, 414; *Ant. Iud.* 15, 339).[223] At the sanctuary of the Three Gauls, in contrast, the two are συμβώμοι[224] rather than σύνναοι until the construction of an adjacent temple, probably under Hadrian.[225]

The response of Octavian to the initiative of the Asians and Bithynians is thus of crucial importance for the later development of the imperial cult. Dio rightly stresses that the ruling given the Hellenes set a precedent soon to be followed elsewhere—for example, in Galatia sometime between 25 B.C. and A.D. 14[226] or at Lugdunum in 12 B.C.; municipal cults of Roma and Augustus likewise spread quickly enough both East and West.[227] What were the main features of the arrangement emerge with reasonable clarity despite error and imprecision in the sources. The model Augustus had established was the partnership of Roma and the living emperor in a cult designed for non-Roman provincials and administered by a provincial *koinon*, a mechanism that already existed in the Greek world and could be readily adapted to the requirements of the imperial worship.[228] Evidently Octavian's main concern was with cult rendered at the provincial level, where it provided a means by which the province, through its delegates to the council, could express its corporate loyalty under religious forms; from this point of view worship of the emperor served to strengthen Roman control. On the other hand, he had fewer scruples about the actions of individual communities, which consequently felt free to pay cult to the emperor without mention of Roma—even to the point of openly calling him θέος during his lifetime.[229] As their names reveal, those who supervised the imperial worship were members of the pro-Roman aristocracies, who alone could provide the financial support for festivals and games, and whose ambitions were realized in the annual priesthood of the province or city.[230] Through their allegiance Octavian was able to establish what was essentially a dynastic worship that could be and was extended to other members of the imperial house. Such a worship, however, left no place for outsiders and so in A.D. 11 Augustus affectively put an end to cult honours at the provincial level for provincial governors in the tradition of the Republic (CD 56, 25, 6); though he seems to have had less objection to the cult of local Greeks.[231] The worship of Roma and Divus Iulius was a different matter.[232] The distinction that Octavian originally drew between Roman and non-Roman was patently too fine to last, particularly when prominent provincials themselves became Roman citizens.[233] No doubt it is for this reason that the cult so quickly disappeared. At any rate there is no further mention of it in our sources.[234]

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[217] Le Glay (above, note 71) 562, n. 73 with bibl.. H. Kyrieleis, "Zu einem Kameo in Wien," *AA* (1970), 492-498, identifies the figure beside Augustus as Gaius.

[218] S. MacCormack, "Roma, Constantinopolis, The Emperor, and his Genius," *CQ* 69 (1975), 131-150 at 141.

[219] Habicht, "Augusteische Zeit" (above, note 27) 89 f.; Mannsperger (above, note 203); Turcan (above, note 211) 999.

[220] For Greek inscriptions where Roma appears in second place see Weinstock, "Treueid" (above, note 206) 315.

[221] A. D. Nock, "Σύνναος Θεός," *HSCP* 41 (1930), 1-62. Habicht, *o.c.* 83, 94, notes that the provinces will no doubt have wanted to call Octavian a god but he evidently forbade it; certainly Augustus is never called θεός during his lifetime in the titles of the provincial priests of Asia.

[222] Above, note 202.

[223] See further "Liturgy and Ceremonial," below, Vol. II; also Addenda, p. 188.

[224] For parallels see Nock, "*Synnaos*" (above, note 221) 45, n. 1 (*Altar*).

[225] "The Temple of the Three Gauls", below, Vol. I, 2, p. 316.

[226] Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 20; Mellor, ΡΩΜΗ 89 f., 144; *id.*, "Goddess Roma" 979 f.; Fayer, *Dea Roma* (above, note 202) 127-133.

[227] Mellor, ΡΩΜΗ 142 f.; "Goddess Roma" 981 f., 998-1004; Habicht, *o.c.* 84, n. 1. The earliest municipal cult of Roma and Augustus in the West is at Tarraco, below, p. 146; Fayer, *o.c.* 135-162, 213-236.

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[228] Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 7-21; Bowersock (above, note 205) 115 f.

[229] Habicht, *o.c.* 84; Wlosok (above, note 75) 43, n. 109. See further Addenda, p. 188.

[230] For the parallel situation in the West see Mellor's summary, "Goddess Roma" 998 f.

[231] R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford, 1939, 473 f.; Bowersock, (above, note 205) 117-121. For the difficulties experienced by C. Cornelius Gallus in Egypt see "*Templum Divo Claudio Constitutum*", below Vol. I, 2, pp. 198 f., note 23. See further Addenda, p. 188.

[232] For a possible Republican precedent see "Gaius Iulius Caesar Octavianus", above pp. 76 f.

[233] Cf. the oath taken at Gangra and elsewhere in 3 B.C. on the incorporation of Paphlagonia within the province of Galatia. Like the native inhabitants, Roman citizens were now required to pledge lifelong loyality to Augustus, his children and his grandchildren, and the oath was sworn at the altar of Augustus by Zeus, Gé and Helios, by all the gods and goddesses, and by Augustus himself. There is no trace here of Roma or Divus Iulius (*OGIS* 532 = *ILS* 8781). See Heinen (above, note 5) 167, n. 4; Weinstock, "Treueid" (above, note 206) 307 f. But Roma does reappear in the oath sworn by the Cypriots to Tiberius after Augustus' death in A.D. 14; Weinstock *ibid.* 306 f. See further Addenda p. 188.

[234] There seems to be no trace of the cult of Roma and Divus Iulius in the West except possibly at Arelate in Narbonensis; cf. Weinstock, *DJ* 408, n. 10, citing *AEpig* (1954) no. 104.

3. *The Federal Cult of Tres Galliae*

(a) Worship and Ritual

That the cult at Lugdunum adhered strictly to the principle Augustus had formulated in the East is confirmed by the dedication formula of the altar, as reflected on coins, above all by the explicit testimony of the inscriptions of provincial priests. It is all the more surprising, then, that the literary sources consistently misrepresent the nature of the worship, Livy, Suetonius, Strabo and Dio all referring to a cult of Augustus alone.[235] Why this should be so is hard to say but it may be suggested that, despite Augustus' insistence on the inclusion of Roma, the literary authorities—consciously or unconsciously—grasp the fact that Roma was of secondary importance and what counted was the worship of the emperor.[236] In the West, of course, there was no tradition of the cult of Roma[237] and the fact that the goddess appears primarily as the emperor's partner within the context of the imperial cult goes far to explaining the limited interest in her on the part of Western provincials (Pl. XVIII).[238] But officially, at least, the cult at Lugdunum was directed to both Roma and Augustus; the two are σύμβωμοι, as the dedication of the altar makes clear, and the equality of the two could be expected to find expression in a joint priesthood and the sharing of rites, ceremonies and games. Though the emperor remains a man, he is paid *isotheoi timai* that put him on the same level, in terms of cultic honours, with the goddess whom he has transformed into a symbol of imperial Rome.

Our primary source for the priesthood of Roma and Augustus is the epigraphic record. This reveals that in the initial stage of the worship the title of the high priest was *sacerdos Romae et Augusti* or simply *sacerdos* and that the priesthood might be specifically ascribed to the federal altar (with or without a reference to the meeting of the rivers) in order to distinguish it from a local priesthood of Roma and Augustus.[239] By Augustus is meant, of course, originally Augustus himself, later the current reigning emperor. Of particular interest is the choice of the term *sacerdos* in preference to *flamen*. What seems to be the distinction between the two is that, whereas *flamen* is the usage originally associated with official state priesthoods and other priesthoods in the *curiae*, *sacerdos* is restricted properly to state-recognized Greek cults (Ceres, Bona Dea, Magna Mater) apart from a few minor offices—the priesthood of the Vestals, for example.[240] We have seen that in origin Dea Roma was not a Roman but a Greek goddess, invented as a medium for expressing their loyalty by the Greek states of Asia Minor as these came progressively under Roman control;[241] that is not in question even if the goddess took on a new imperial implication in the Augustan scheme (above, pp. 127 f.). It seems very possible, then, that the significance of Roma, a goddess of non-Roman origin is what has determined the circumstance that her cult at Lugdunum is served by *sacerdotes*. The point seems confirmed by the fact that when Hadrian instituted the cult of Roma Aeterna, this worship too was served by *sacerdotes*.[242]

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[235] Livy, *Per.* 139; Suet., *Claud.* 2, 1; Strabo 4, 3, 2; p. 192; CD 54, 32, 1.

[236] Cf. the numerous inscriptions, particularly from Lugdunensis, inscribed *Aug. sacr.*; full discussion in "*Augusto ut deo*", below, Vol. II.

[237] See "Augustus and the West", above, p. 93.

[238] Mellor, "Goddess Roma" (above, note 202) 985. A trace occurs at Beausoleil in the Maritime Alps (Pl. XVIII). Cf. Espérandieu, *Recueil* (above, note 92) 7, no. 5361 (Luxeuil); perhaps also 3, no. 2655 (Nîmes); 7, no. 5288 (Besançon); 10, no. 710 (Nassenfels). For a 1st (?) century representation of Roma on a gem from Britain see M. Henig, *A Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from British Sites* (BAR 8), Oxford, 1978, p. 216, no. 249; for later examples see *ibid.* pp. 69 f. Dedications to Roma also occur among the graffiti (nos. 12, 32 f.) from a *fanum* with double *cellae* at Chateauneuf-les-Boissons (Savoie), where the cult of Roma and the emperor is apparently associated with that of Mercury and Maia: *Gallia* 40 (1982), 424 f. (C. Mermet); cf. J. Lasfargues *et al.*, *Archéologie et Rhone-Alpes. Protohistoire et Monde Gallo-Romain. Dix Ans de Recherches*, Lyon, 1983-84, 159-161. For traces in Spain see A. Balil, "Representación de la dea Roma en la decoración de la terra sigillata Hispánica", *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 69 (1961), 286-94.

As for the detailed ritual followed at Lugdunum, it is regrettable that no direct evidence has been preserved. Comparison with practice in the Greek East, particularly at the local level, suggests that there will have been a set rota of observances running in calendared order throughout the year and emphasising above all the anniversaries of the *domus imperatoria*, particularly imperial birthdays.[243] Indirect testimony to this is provided by dated inscriptions from the Gauls, though what has survived reflects municipal rather than provincial usage.[244] No doubt events of local interest were also celebrated: the dedication of the federal altar on 1st August, for example, perhaps also the feast of some Celtic god (Lug?). Sacrifice, offered by the high-priest in his purple vestments, may well have taken the form of an animal victim at high festivals such as the emperor's *natalis*[245] or the annual synod of the Three Gauls beginning on 1st August (?), but on most occasions the cheaper rite of a

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[239] See "Titus Sennius Sollemnis", below, Vol. I, 2, Appendix II; further Fayer (above, note 202) 188; H. Wolff, "*Civitas und Colonia Treverorum*", *Historia* 26 (1977), 204-242 at 207-11.

[240] Wissowa, *RuKR*² 482 f., noting that *sacerdos* occurs also in municipal cult (*sacerdotes Albani* etc.)

[241] See "Rome and the Ruler Cult" above, pp. 48-51.

[242] Mellor, "Goddess Roma" 1023.

[243] See "Liturgy and Ceremonial", below, Vol. II, with discussion of *P Oslo* 3, no. 77 (Tebtunis), *P Oxy.* no. 2553 *et al.*

[244] Cf. *CIL* 13, 4565 (Marsal, A. D. 44: *natalis* of Divus Augustus); *CIL* 12, 169 (Antipolis, A.D. 124: *natalis* of Hadrian); *CIL* 12, 5905 (Nîmes, A.D. 161: *natalis* of Marcus Aurelius). For a reconstruction of municipal rites at Tarraco see D. Fishwick "The Altar of Augustus and the Municipal Cult of Tarraco", *MDAI(M)* 23 (1982), 222-223 at 230 ff.

[245] Cf. *immolatio Caesari hostia* on Augustus' birthday at Cumae: Degrassi, *InscrIt* 13, 2, p. 279, no. 44: 1. 3 *ad* 23rd September.

supplicatio of incense and wine will have been the norm.[246] Under either form sacrifice must have been made at the great altar, where it was presumably offered either to the emperor *ut deo* in company with Roma or to the gods on his behalf, according to the particular occasion; that sacrifice could be made both *to* the emperor and *for* his welfare is a result of the ambiguity of his status: above men but below the gods.[247] On the other hand there is nothing to suggest that cult was paid to the emperor's *genius*, as has sometimes been argued.[248] Evidence from centres in the Eastern empire also points to processions on major feast-days, very possibly with the carrying of statues and busts; indeed, if the objects above the altar on the Lugdunum coins are correctly interpreted, such rites can be supposed already in the reign of Augustus.[249] The ramps leading to the altar from right and left would certainly have been suited for the deployment of processions and it is possible that a cortège of officiants, bearers and others preceded meetings of the council or the staging of games.[250]

(b) The Amphitheatre

An inscription of fine lettering (Pl. XX) found in 1958—its recovery coinciding by remarkable fortune with the bimillenary of Lugdunum[251]—gives the word *amphitheatr.* and a positive date for completion of the building early in the reign of Tiberius:[252] *[Pro salut]e Ti. Caesaris Aug(usti) amphitheatr.* | *[...p]odio C. Iul(ius) C. f(ilius) Rufus, sacerdos Rom(ae) et Aug(usti),* | *...filii f(ilius) et nepos, ex civitate Santon(um), d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) fecerunt* (*AEpig*, 1959, nos. 78, 81 = *ILTG* 217). The name of the federal priest associated with the project is C. Iulius Rufus, the same individual who dedicated a triumphal arch to Tiberius, Drusus and Germanicus in his *patria* of Saintes (*CIL* 13, 1036 = *ILTG* 148 = *AEpig*, 1980, no. 623); as all commentators have observed, the fact that Rufus undertook construction in the year of his priesthood of the Three Gauls *ca.* A.D. 19 and was assisted in the work by his son, is a clear indication of Roman success in enlisting the support of the native aristocracy.[253] Their accomplishment was to level the *arena* and to erect around it a *podium* unique in the Western empire in that it supported seats not for the general public but for the use of delegates of the Gallic tribes during the games held in connection with the annual convention of the provincial *concilium* (Pls. XXI, XXII).[254] This peculiarity brings out the federal and religious functions of the amphitheatre, a point further underlined by its location immediately at the western end of the sanctuary, to which it is an appendage.[255] What surviving masonry shows, however, is that the *podium* of Rufus was of modest size, no more than two or three tiers with indications of reserved places, and the structure was eventually extended *ca.* A.D. 130-136 by C. Iulius Celsus;[256] at that time its proportions became more like those of the amphitheatres at Arles and Nîmes (Pls. XXIII, XXIV).

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[246] Full discussion in "Liturgy and Ceremonial", below, Vol. II. A small statuette found at Lyon represents an imperial priest holding in the left hand an incense box, from which he is about to deposit a few grains with his right, presumably on the sacrificial altar (Pl. XIX).

[247] Price "Sacrifice" (above, note 164) 33.

[248] So L. R. Taylor, "The Worship of Augustus in Italy during his Lifetime", *TAPA* 51 (1920), 116-133 at 132; cf. Wuilleumier, *Lyon, Métropole* 40.

[249] See above, pp. 123-125 with notes 187 f.

[250] For processions in connection with the games in honour of Augustus at Naples see R. M. Geer, "The Greek Games at Naples", *TAPA* 66 (1935), 208-221; Price, "Sacrifice" 34, n. 67 with refs.

[251] Audin, *Lyon, Miroir* (above, note 8) 83-87.

[252] See further J. Guey, "Les inscriptions (et à propos des inscriptions) de l'amphithéâtre" in *Les Martyrs de Lyon (1977)* (Colloques internationaux du centre national de la recherche scientifique 575), Paris, 1978, 107-109 with bibl.

That games were already held under Augustus, particularly to mark the festival of 1st August,[257] seems a reasonable assumption though nothing is known directly. Certainly the amphitheatre is recorded to have been the scene of very varied spectacles, at which the crowd of spectators will have had to stand until seating was provided in the reign of Hadrian. We hear in Suetonius of oratorical contests under Gaius in which the least successful might even be beaten with rods and flung into the river (Suet., *Gaius* 20).[258] An attractive explanation has seen these eccentric penalties as a mimicry of local burial rites of Celtic origin and there is a clear parallel with similar happenings reported on other occasions at the same part of the river.[259] Gladiatorial games, presumably held at Lyon,[260] are recorded under Vitellius in A.D. 69 (CD 65, 1, 3) and the Marble of Thorigny confirms that Titus Sennius Sollemnis, high priest *ca.* A.D. 220, put on *omn]e genus spectaculorum*, including thirty-two gladiatorial combats with a card of eight pairs on each of four days.[261] More notorious is the association of the amphitheatre with martyrdoms: Maricc, the chieftain of the Boii who called himself a god and raised the Gallic revolt of A.D. 69 (Tac., *Hist.* 2, 61), above all members of the Christian community of Lugdunum who were persecuted in A.D. 177; their bodies were exposed for six days, then burned and the ashes scattered on the nearby river (*Hist. eccl.* 5, 1, 62).[262] As the punishment of the Christians took place in two episodes, of which the second evidently coincided with the festival of 1st August;[263] it is clear that spectacles in the amphitheatre might be staged on other days during the year. The birthday of the reigning emperor will have provided a very likely occasion.[264]

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[253] Cf. Chevallier (above, note 10) 926. See further Drinkwater (above, note 27) 819.

[254] See in particular A. Audin and M. Le Glay, "L'amphithéâtre des Trois-Gaules à Lyon: première campagne de fouilles," *Gallia* 28 (1970), 67-89; A. Audin, "L'amphithéâtre des Trois Gaules à Lyon: nouvelles campagnes de fouilles (1971-1972, 1976-1978)", *Gallia* 37 (1979), 85-98.

[255] Audin, *Essai* (above, note 25) 156-158. In contrast, the exact location of the circus at Lugdunum is not known, but there is nothing to suggest it lay anywhere near the provincial centre as was certainly the case at Tarraco; see "*Flamen Augustorum*," below, Vol. I, 2, p. 281, note 69. On the contrary, Audin suggests a site in the region of Trion: that is, at the very opposite side of the town from the federal sanctuary: *Essai* 120 f.; *Miroir* 116-118; cf. Chevallier, *l.c.* with plate V, 6; fig. 13a. The circus will, of course, have been a municipal rather than a federal charge.

[256] For the latest plan of the amphitheatre see Audin (above, note 254) (1979) 87, fig. 1; for earlier archaeological exploration see Chevallier 927, fig. 13 (= Guey [above, note 252] 109).

[257] Wuilleumier, *Lyon Métropole* 41, suggests festivities will have lasted several days.

[258] For a possible interpretation of these contests see "Liturgy and Ceremonial" below, Vol. II.

[259] A. Audin, "Les rites solsticiaux et la légende de Saint Pothin," *RHR* 96 (1927), 147-174; *id.*, *Essai* 160. The future emperor Claudius was also thrown into the river: D. Fishwick, "Claudius submersus", *AJAH* 3 (1978), 76 f. *ad* Suet., *Cl.* 9, 1. The stream in question was not the rapid, main course of the river but a secondary arm, nowadays covered over, where a ducking would not have been very dangerous.

[260] Whether the gladiatorial games mentioned in Suet., *Gaius* 35 took place at Lugdunum in A.D. 40, as supposed by Wuilleumier, *Lyon Métropole* 41, with n. 81 is very uncertain. See D. Fishwick, "The Annexation of Mauretania", *Historia* 20 (1971), 467-487 at 468-473.

(c) The Priesthood of the Three Gauls

The games in the amphitheatre bring out the secular side of the annual provincial priesthood. There can be no doubt that the *sacerdotium* of the Three Gauls was a prestigious appointment that lived up to Pliny's comment on the office in Hither Spain: *scis, quod iudicium provinciae illius, quanta sit gravitas* (*Ep.* 2, 13, 4). The cursus of the priests with its constantly recurring formula *omnibus honoribus apud suos functus* makes it clear that the high priesthood came to be considered the culmination of a local career in the provinces, comparable, say, to the censorship at Rome.[265] Our main source of evidence in this regard is the inscriptions beneath the statues that were erected by the Three Gauls in honour of out-going priests and which give (as a rule) the priest's name, that of his father, and his *civitas*, career and high priesthood. Evidently the procedure conformed to specific regulations resembling those in operation at Tarraco, the provincial centre of Hither Spain, but differing in significant respects from the law that applied in Narbonensis.[266] Also peculiar to the sanctuary of the Three Gauls is that the priest had the further privilege of grouping on the same pedestal with his own statue additional statues of his wife, father, son etc., all with inscribed bases.[267] Two points are of major significance. As the *tria nomina* of incumbents show, Roman citizenship was a prerequisite; and the distinction was a costly one: priests were expected to pay for monuments (the amphitheatre, for example) and above all for mass entertainment in the form of games.[268] How expensive these had become is shown by a *senatus consultum* of A.D. 177, the year of the martyrdom of the Christians, reducing outlays for gladiatorial contests; a bronze tablet found near Italica in Baetica records the delighted reaction to this on the part of *sacerdotes fidelissimarum Galliarum*.[269] The high priesthood of the Gauls was thus the preserve of an affluent oligarchy, exactly as was the case in the Greek provinces of the East (above, p. 130), and the same holds true of provinces in the Western empire in general.[270]

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[261] *CIL* 13, 3162 = *ILTG* 341; H.-G. Pflaum, *Le Marbre de Thorigny* (Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Etudes 292), Paris, 1948. For a calculation of the expenses he incurred see 13 ff.

[262] Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 104 f.; Chevallier, *o.c.* 936 f. with bibl. For the background see *Les Martyrs de Lyon* (above, note 252) throughout.

[263] M. Le Glay, "Le culte impérial à Lyon, au IIe siècle ap. J.C." in *Les Martyrs de Lyon* 19-31 at 19 f.

[264] Cf. Hertz, *Festkalender* (above, note 147) 191 with n. 9 à propos the possibility that the first stage of the martyrdom of 177 may have coincided with the three-day celebration of Marcus Aurelius' birthday. For a connection rather with the festival of the summer solstice see (most recently) A. Audin, "Les martyrs de 177", *CH* 11 (1966), 343-367. Further discussion in "Liturgy and Ceremonial", below, Vol. II.

[265] Larsen, *Representative Government* (above, note 17) 135-138; Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 101 f., 152, noting that here (as more frequently in Hither Spain) several priests had earlier served one or more *militiae equestres*.

[266] See "The Origins of the Provincial Cult of Baetica", below, Vol. I, 2, pp. 220 f.; further "*Flamen Augustorum*" *ibid.*, p. 277.

A full account of the administrative functions of the *sacerdos* and *concilium* would be more appropriate to a history of the provincial assemblies, but a brief recapitulation of the main features has a legitimate place in the present context.[271] As chairman of the provincial council, the priest was elected by its members, leading men previously chosen as their representative by the different *civitates*; the full complement of the *legati* is unknown and the possibility that membership was based on some form of proportional representation an inference unsupported as yet by direct evidence (above, p. 102). Whether traces of a *curia* have now been found to parallel the one known at Tarraco, for example, remains to be seen,[272] but various financial assistants of the *concilium* are directly attested (*iudex/allectus arcae Galliarum*), along with an official of uncertain competence (*inquisitor Galliarum*) and a slave archivist (*tabularius Galliarum*).[273] Once a year, as a rule, the assembly met under its chairman, when its principal purpose was to pay cult to the emperor, the ceremonies culminating in games, often on a lavish scale.[274] But in addition to managing its own affairs, such as elections to office or the erection of honorific statues, the council acted on behalf of the provincials themselves and its early endeavours in this respect are reasonably well documented.[275] It is sufficient to mention that it presented Augustus with a gold *torques* of 100 lbs. (Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 6, 3, 79), extended hospitality to Gaius (Suet., *Gaius* 20), sent an embassy to Rome in A.D. 48 that obtained the *ius honorum* for Gallic notables (Tac., *Ann.* 11, 23; cf. *ILTG* 219), and delegated an orator to congratulate Nero after the removal of Agrippina (Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 8, 5, 15); similar activities are recorded down to the middle of the third century. Equally significant is the relationship of the council to imperial administrators, whom it could either praise or blame[276]—or to the emperor in Rome, from whom it received communications affecting the province. Thus the meetings of the assembly under the high priest have two sides. In paying cult to the emperor they can properly be described as political demonstrations evincing the loyalty of the Three Gauls to the central regime. On the other hand, by representing provincial interests and by serving as a medium of communication between subject and emperor they doubtless went some way, at least initially, to building a sense of national identity.

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[267] Cf. *CIL* 13, 1684b, 1691c, 1701. Statues to the priest and his relatives might also be set up here by his *civitas* (cf. *CIL* 13, 1700, 1704), just as the provincial council might exceptionally set up a statue to the priest in his *patria* (cf. *CIL* 13, 3162). See further Allmer-Dissart, *Inscriptions* (above, note 9) 2, 52. For similar honours to Roman promagistrates in Asia Minor see K. Tuchelt, *Frühe Denkmäler Roms in Kleinasien* (MDAI[I] Beiheft 23), Tübingen, 1979, 51-54.

[268] Wuilleumier, *Lyon Métropole* 36 f.; Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 102, 105, 151 f., 160 f.

[269] *CIL* 2, 6278 = *ILS* 5163, ll. 14 f. For bibl. see Deininger 105, n. 2.

[270] Deininger 148-154; cf. Syme (above, note 231) 474 f.

[271] See Deininger's synthesis, *o.c.* 136-172.

[272] For the possible identification of remains of the *podium* belonging to the assembly building which was used by the Gallic delegates, see A. Audin and J.-F. Reynaud, "Le mur des bords de Saône et ses inscriptions antiques", *Bull. des Musées et Monuments Lyonnais* 6 (1977-1981), 457-479 at 459-468. The fragments of a restored dedication suggest that this was under the protection of Bonus Eventus and Fortuna Favens (*AEpig*, 1980, no. 634). For the *curia* at Tarraco see "Divus Augustus", below p. 155.

[273] For discussion and documentation see Wuilleumier, *Lyon Métropole* 37 f.; Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 102-104; J. F. Drinkwater, "A Note on Local Careers in the Three Gauls under the Early Empire," *Britannia* 10 (1979), 89-100 at 96.

4. *The Extension of the Western Ruler Cult*

(a) Ara Ubiorum

No one doubts today that a similar centre to that at Lugdunum was established under Augustus at Ara Ubiorum near modern Cologne.[277] Our principal source is a passing reference in Tacitus concerning events in the region in A.D. 14: ***interea legati ab senatu regressum iam apud aram Ubiorum Germanicum adeunt*** (*Ann.* 1, 39, 1). Since the altar gave its name to the town—Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensis—and Tacitus states that the first and twentieth legions were in winter quarters there (*ibid.* 39, 2), it seems clear that the altar, town and military camp must have been situated in close proximity; the inference is confirmed by the circumstances of the mutiny of that year, when Germanicus was brought from his residence in the town to the nearby legionary head-quarters (Tac., *Ann.* 1, 39, 4, cf. 8).[278] No trace of the monument itself has been found but a possible site has been suggested on the island in the Rhine opposite the west fringe of the harbour.[279] Whatever its precise location, the strategic position of the Ubii suggests that the altar was planned as the religious and political hub of a future Roman Germany whose development was dramatically shattered by the annihilation of Varus' legions in the Teutoburg forest in A.D. 9 (CD 56, 18).[280] The event provides a firm *terminus ante* for the existence of the altar, but beyond that we have no clue to the date of foundation. As a result, this has generally been attributed either to the years 12-9 B.C., when Drusus was in the area, or to the period of Tiberius' successes in Germany and Pannonia, 8-7 B.C. or A.D. 5; a connection with the census of A.D. 8 has also been proposed.[281] The promptitude with which altars were established in other areas of the West, undoubtedly as a means of strengthening Roman control, might be thought to tell in favour of an earlier rather than later occasion.

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[274] Above, note 257. The meeting that began on 1st August (?) presumably lasted several weeks, though not perhaps the entire month as suggested by Allmer-Dissard, *Inscriptions* (above, note 9) 2, 50.

[275] Wuilleumier 39; Christopherson (above, note 1) 354 ff. See in general F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC-AD 337)*, London, 1977, 385-394. The council must also have been responsible for erecting in the federal sanctuary (perhaps against the wall of some building) the bronze tablet (*CIL* 13, 1668) preserving Claudius' address of A.D. 48: Ph. Fabia, *La Table Claudienne de Lyon*, Lyon, 1929. For a secular document similarly posted in a sacred context cf. an inscription in honour of Nero placed on the epistyle of the Parthenon: *I G* 2^2, 3277: K. K. Carroll, *The Parthenon Inscription* (Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Monographs 9), Durham N.C., 1982; cf. *SEG* 32 (1982) no. 251; *Bull. Epig.* (1983) no. 174.

[276] Deininger 106 with commentary and bibl.

[277] On the *ara Ubiorum* see E. Kornemann, "Die Zahl der gallischen civitates in der römischen Kaiserzeit", *Klio* 1 (1901), 331-348 at 338 f.; H. Schmitz, *Stadt und Imperium. Köln in röm. Zeit*, Cologne, 1948, 1, 106 ff.; *id.*, *RE* 8 A 1 (1955) 539, s.v. Ubii; Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 24 f.

The nature of the cult offered at the *ara Ubiorum* is not directly in evidence. The term *sacerdos* and the fact that the worship centred on an altar establish beyond reasonable question that the federal sanctuary at Lugdunum will have provided the model, but only future archaeological discoveries could reveal whether the two monuments bore any physical resemblance. Tacitus' account of the mutiny that broke out on the death of Augustus does raise the possibility, however, that a statue of Drusus or even his cenotaph may have stood near the altar, at which Germanicus addressed the troops (Tac., *Ann.* 1, 42 f., cf. 39, 2; CD 55, 2, 3).[282] A cult linked with an altar that already existed on the Rhine by A.D. 9 points to the inclusion of Roma with Augustus, but regrettably no confirmation can be adduced in the way of epigraphical evidence. Mellor has indeed proposed that a fragmentary inscription from Mainz may attest a Romanized native of the Treveri who served as priest of Roma and Augustus at the altar of the Ubii,[283] but it seems safer, on the whole, to attribute this priesthood to the altar of the Three Gauls, especially when there is a strong possibility that the inscription itself may be much later than A.D. 9.[284] On the other hand, the functioning of some sort of organization can be legitimately inferred from Tacitus' report that the Cheruscan Segimundus—evidently a Roman citizen (*Ann.* 1, 58, 2)—was *sacerdos apud aram Ubiorum creatus* at the time he tore his fillets and fled to the rebels under his brother-in-law Arminius (*Ann.* 1, 57, 2). The term *creatus* and the fact that Segimundus was of the Cherusci, not the Ubii, suggest that he had been elected by some meeting or assembly of the Germanic tribes or by the representatives of their various *civitates*; but we have no direct evidence of such and a full-scale provincial *concilium* is out of the question given that Germania Inferior was not to be organized as a province until the time of Domitian.[285] For the moment the altar, with any associated gathering, must have been designed as a regional centre on the pattern of the *arae Sestianae* in north-west Spain, for example (below, pp. 141-144). As for its subsequent history, the monument evidently continued to exist long after the rebellion: this is shown by its presence in the name of the colony and by the circumstance that in military inscriptions Cologne continues to be called simply *ara.*[286] In the absence of any provincial cult for the region one can only conclude that the altar served henceforth as a purely municipal centre.[287]

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[278] O. Doppelfeld, G. Biegel, J. Bracker, "Das römische Köln I", *ANRW* 2, 4 (1975) 715-782 at 725, cf. 720.

[279] *Ibid.* 725 f.

[280] K. Christ, "Zur augusteischen Germanienpolitik", *Chiron* 7 (1977), 149-205 at 197.

[281] Mellor, "Goddess Roma" (above, note 202) 988; Doppelfeld (above, note 278) 720; Schmitz (above, note 277) *ll.cc.*; Heinen (above, note 5) 172, n. 1.

[282] A. L. Abaecherli, "The Institution of the Imperial Cult in the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire", *SMSR* 11 (1935), 153-186 at 157 f. She takes *...tua, pater Druse, imago...* (Tac., *Ann.* 1, 43) in a literal rather than figurative sense and suggests that the apostrophe of Divus Augustus (*tua, dive Auguste, caelo recepta mens*) will have been addressed to the altar where he had been worshipped (with Roma) in life; cf. Mellor (above, note 281).

[283] Mellor, *ibid. ad. AEpig* (1968) no. 321. For discussion see G. Alföldy, *Die Hilfstruppen*

(b) Noricum

A parallel institution has also been supposed for Noricum in the period before a regular provincial administration was installed, probably under Claudius.[288] The inference turns upon the proper interpretation of a building-complex unearthed on the Magdalensberg, where it was constructed soon after 15 B.C.[289] Of particular interest is an edifice, comprising an entrance corridor and three rooms, which is adjacent to an official structure with a

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der römischen Provinz Germania Inferior (EpigStud 6), Dusseldorf, 1968, 37 f., 188, no. 69; Wolff (above, note 239) throughout.

[284] The date depends largely on the name(s) to be restored in the first two surviving lines; cf. Wolff, *o.c.* 215. The restoration *[sacerdot]i Romae [et Aug(usti) ad]* | *[aram...* (ll. 3 f.) is unlikely as no priest is so called tout court; see "The Provincial Priesthood of Titus Sennius Sollemnis", below, Vol. I, 2, Appendix II.

[285] H. Bengtson, *Die Flavier*, Munich, 1979, 296, n. 17, suggests this may have taken place in A.D. 89; cf. S. Gsell, *Essai sur le Règne de l'Empereur Domitien*, Paris, 1893, 139 f., proposing A.D. 83+.

[286] *RE* 4, 1 (1900) 543, no. 196 (Kornemann); *CIL* 13, 2, 2; p. 505.

[287] Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 112, n. 5.

[288] G. Alföldy, *Noricum*, London, 1974, 62-64; P. Kneissl, "Zur Entstehung der Provinz Noricum", *Chiron* 9 (1979), 261-273.

[289] Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 25 f., 115; Alföldy, *Noricum* 64, 70 with refs. n. 53; G. Piccottini, "Die Stadt auf dem Magdalensberg—ein spätkeltisches und frührömisches Zentrum im südlichen Noricum", *ANRW* 2, 6 (1977) 263-301 at 277-280 with abundant bibl.

raised tribunal overlooking a colonnaded courtyard; in the apse of room A is a fountain, while thirteen niches are let into three of the walls of room B. Egger and others point to the correspondence of the thirteen niches with the thirteen Norican *poleis* known to Ptolemy (*Geogr.* 2, 13, 3) and suggest that the room served as a record office; the room with the apse would then be the assembly room for the *conventus Noricorum* and hence the building as a whole the "Repräsentationshaus" where the provincial council had its original seat. Support for this view is sought in three (?) honorific marble inscriptions supposedly fastened to the walls of the assembly-room.[290] These were set up by eight *civitates* of Noricum in the period *ca.* 10 B.C. in honour of members of the immediate circle of Augustus: Liva, Julia the daughter of Augustus, and the younger Julia; quite possibly, then, there once existed a similar inscription to Augustus himself.[291] In keeping with this reconstruction, a large tetrastyle temple with twin *cellae* and altars that stands on the north side of the forum is attributed to Roma and Divus Augustus; construction of this temple began under Tiberius but the design was then changed and never brought to completion.[292]

Unfortunately this whole hypothesis is beginning to look increasingly fragile. The physical characteristics of the supposed "House of Representatives", in particular the water-proof plaster-work of the rooms, the moulding on the mosaic floor, and the lead piping running through the walls suggest the very different conclusion that this was rather a bath-house, corresponding in various details to baths at Pompeii and elsewhere.[293] If so, the niches would then be simply cubby-holes for depositing clothes in what must have been the *apodyterium*[294] and the circumstance that there are thirteen of them could be put down to sheer coincidence. In any event there is a clear discrepancy between the names of the thirteen Norican *civitates* listed by Ptolemy and those recorded on the inscriptions, which amount to eight only—including two he omits. Furthermore, the fact that the Magdalensberg inscriptions give only the names of the southern and western tribes seems to imply that the remaining *civitates* did not join in honouring the Julian house, a circumstance hard to reconcile with a supposedly representative assembly. Perhaps, then, the widely scattered remains of the inscriptions belonged, like similar epigraphical texts, to some monument commemorating a particular official visit.[295] Nor again is there anything that would point securely to an official cult of the emperor. Nowhere, as yet, in the entire Latin West does one find a provincial temple of Roma and Augustus, still less of Roma and Divus Augustus.[296] We know of a temple at Ostia that was begun under Tiberius and built, oddly enough, to Roma and Augustus at a time when Augustus was already *divus.*[297] Conceivably this might strengthen the case for a municipal temple on the Magdalensberg, but there is still a complication: the Ostia temple has just the one *cella.* That is not the case on the Magdalensberg, nor is it at all clear that, if Augustus was now *divus*, he would require a separate *cella* from Roma.[298] Under the circumstances, then, it seems best to refrain from further speculation and to await the appearance of an inscription that might give some indication of what deities the temple served. The *curia* of the Norican *concilium* and the seat of the provincial priest may in any case have been located at Virunum in later times, once Claudius had created there a new capital for the province.[299] Whether traces of the council-house have now been identified remains, however, very uncertain.[300]

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[290] J. Šašel, "Huldigung norischer Stämme am Magdalensberg in Kärnten", *Historia* 16 (1967), 70-74; cf. Alföldy, *Noricum* 67-69.

[291] R. Egger, "Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Magdalensberg 1960 und 1961", *Carinthia* 1, 153 (1963), 3-297 at 102, n. 82 *et passim*.

[292] Piccottini (above, note 289) 283; cf. H. Vetters, "Virunum" *ANRW* 2, 6 (1977) 302-354 at 335.

[293] Piccottini 278 with n. 61, stressing that Room A was heated by a hypocaust.

[294] Alföldy, *Noricum* 305, n. 49, quoting the opinion of H. von Petrikovits.

(c) Arae Sestianae

Our literary sources allude to what looks to be a further cult centre in northwest Spain. A brief notice in Ptolemy states that on a promontory in Callaecia stood the altars of Sestius, but gives no clue to their more precise location: μετὰ τὸ Νέριον ἀχρωτήριον ἕτερον ἀχρωτήριον, ἐφ οὗ Σηστίου βωμοί... (*Geogr.* 2, 6, 3). For this we have to turn to the geographer Pomponius Mela and to the Elder Pliny; both of these have been thought to draw on the *Chorographia* of Agrippa[301] but, whereas Mela locates the altars on the Asturian coast, Pliny places them on the western coast of Callaecia: *in Astyrum litore Noeca est oppidum; et tres arae, quas Sestianas vocant, in paeneinsula sedent et sunt Augusti nomine sacrae illustrantque terras ante ignobiles* (Mela 3, 13); *regio Asturum, Noega oppidum in paeninsula Paesici... promunturium Celticum, amnes Florius, Nelo. Celtici cognomine Neri et Super Tamarci quorum in paeninsula tres arae Sestianae Augusto dicatae, Copori, oppidum Noeta, Celtici cognomine Praestamarci, Cileni* (*NH* 4, 111). In this case the local knowledge of Pliny, who had served as *procurator* in Tarraconensis, is decisive for the authority of his testimony against that of Mela, whose error could be due to confusion between the Asturian Noeca/Noega and the town of similar name in Callaecia;[302] The site itself may have been either on Cape Finisterre or on Monte Louro.[303] The name of the Sestius from whom the altars took their name is in any event that of a Roman official. All commentators have followed Hübner in taking him to be the L. Sestius Quirinalis Albinianus who replaced Augustus as suffect consul in the summer of 23 B.C.[304] and it is usually assumed that he was responsible for setting up the altars following the subjugation of the Spanish tribes of the north-west by Agrippa in 19 B.C.[305] On Syme's view he succeeded P. Carisius as governor of Hispania Ulterior from 22 to 19 B.C. at a time when Asturia and Callaecia still belonged to that province.[306] Alternatively, it has recently been proposed that in view of his consular rank Sestius might rather have followed P. Silius Nerva as governor of Hispania Citerior from 16-14 B.C., when there is a gap in the *fasti* of the imperial legates;[307] if so, his term would coincide with the period when Asturia-Callaecia looks to have been separated from Ulterior and joined to Citerior.[308] Should the second possibility prove correct, the erection of the altars might plausibly be related to Augustus' visit to Spain in 16-13 B.C., just as the establishment by Drusus of the altar of the Three Gauls at Lugdunum followed upon Augustus' stay in Gaul and his creation of the three new provinces. The circumstances in both regions look strikingly similar.

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[295] Šašel (above, note 290) 73.

[296] See further "Divus Augustus", below, p. 167.

[297] *CIL* 14, 73, 353, cf. 400; R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*², Oxford, 1973, 132, 178, 353 f.

[298] The Capitoline temple had separate *cellae* for Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, a feature observed in Capitolia elsewhere in the Empire. Similarly Hadrian's temple of Venus and Roma was constructed in such a way that each deity had a separate *cella*, their colossal statues standing back to back: S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Oxford, 1929, 297 f., 553. But joint cults could call for two cult images within one *cella* as at the temple of Castor and Pollux (Suet., *Gaius* 22), despite the technical difficulties this posed for ritual (Livy 27, 25, 8 f.). Two cult images in the one *cella* at Caesarea seem to be implied by Josephus (above, p. 129) and the temple of Roma and Augustus at Mylasa evidently had a single *cella*: Hesberg, "Archäologische Denkmäler" (above, note 215) 956 f. By contrast the imperial temple at Lepcis Magna had a divided *cella*: M. F. Squarciapino, *Leptis Magna*, Basel, 1966, 82. See also A. Di Vita, "Gli *Emporia* di Tripolitania dall' Età di Massinissa a Diocleziano: un profilo storico-istituzionale", *ANRW* 2, 10, 2 (1982) 515-595 at 559; further Addenda, p. 188.

[299] Alföldy, *Noricum* 102.

[300] Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 115.

[301] *RE* 3 (1895) 340 f. s.v. *arae Sestianae* (Hübner). If this inference is correct, it would provide a *terminus ante* for the existence of the altars; cf. R. Syme, "The Spanish War of Augustus (26-25 B.C.)", *AJPhil* 55 (1934), 293-317 at 316.

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[302] Cf. R. Syme, "A Governor of Tarraconensis", *EpigStud* 8 (1969), 125-133 at 128. The MS version of the *oppidum* Pliny lists in Callaecia is Noeta, not Noega.

[303] So A. Schulten, *Los Cántabros y Astures y su Guerra con Roma*, Madrid, 1943, 164; cf. Etienne, *Culte impérial* 381 f.; Syme, *ibid.*

[304] A. Degrassi, *I Fasti consolari dell' Impero romano*, Rome, 1952, 3.

[305] Heinen, "Begründung" (above, note 5) 158, n. 1; Syme (above, note 301) 316 f.; Etienne, *Culte impérial* 383. For the military background see more recently Syme, "The Conquest of North-West Spain" in *Legio VII Gemina* (León Inst. Leones de Estud. romano-visigoticos), Leon, 1970, 79-107.

[306] Above, note 302; cf. G. Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses*, Wiesbaden, 1969, 131-133, 218, 223 f. with refs.

[307] F. Diego Santos, "Die Integration Nord-und Nordwestspaniens als römische Provinz in der Reichspolitik des Augustus", *ANRW* 2, 3 (1975) 523-571 at 541, n. 45. For the governors of Hither Spain see Alföldy, *Fasti* 193 f., cf. 7 f.

[308] Syme (above, note 302) 126; Alföldy, *Fasti* 207.

Both Pomponius Mela and Pliny mention that there were three altars—why three is not stated. It has been suggested that the altars were erected one for each of the three legions stationed at the time in Asturia and Callaecia—IV Macedonica, VI Victrix, X Gemina[309]—yet none of the other foundations of the Augustan period were intended as legionary sanctuaries; their purpose was to promote loyalty to the emperor and Rome among recently pacified natives and the same must surely be true of the altars planted by Sestius in the newly-conquered region of north-west Spain. We have seen that at Lyons the one federal altar served the three administrative divisions of Aquitania, Belgica, and Lugdunensis; similarly the *ara Ubiorum* on the Elbe is manifestly a regional centre and, if a passage in Cassiodorus can be relied on, there was a further centre *apud Lingonum gentem* (below, pp. 144 f.). All analogy suggests, then, that the Sestian altars will have been similarly intended as a regional cult centre for north-west Spain. In that case the three altars must surely be related to the pending division of the area[310] into the three *conventus* of Lucus Augusti and Bracara Augusta in Callaecia and Asturica Augusta in Asturia.[311] As their names show, the principal centres were Augustan foundations and it seems reasonable to infer that the three *conventus* themselves were established about the same time rather than later.[312] The fact that there are three altars would then be explicable by the circumstance that these districts were not united in a close federation as reflected in the single altar for Tres Galliae. Why a site for the altars should have been chosen on the coast of Callaecia near the town of Noeta is not immediately clear[313]—can one suppose that Augustus paid a visit there himself? Evidently the area was of significance for the original pacification of the north-west since Mela reports that beside the river Sars, just south of the *arae Sestianae*, stood another monument: *...Tamaris secundum Ebora portum, Sars iuxta turrem Augusti titulo memorabilem* (3, 11). As for the content of the cult at these altars, the literary authorities state only that they were dedicated to Augustus.[314] The inaccuracy of our sources in this respect, however, has been a constant difficulty elsewhere and the practice at other centres strongly suggests that worship will have been offered to Roma and Augustus, particularly if Augustus had been in the area himself.[315] While we have no direct evidence, it is notable that, when the cult of the *conventus* appears in north-west Spain under Vespasian, the priests are directly attested as serving Roma and Augustus.[316] Perhaps this is in line with long-established usage.

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[309] Abaecherli (above, note 282) 161 f.; cf. Etienne, *Culte impérial* 383; Mellor, "Goddess Roma" 989.

[310] A territorial division could lie behind Mela's remark ... *illustrantque terras ante ignobiles* (3, 13).

[311] The interpretation would imply the exclusion of the *conventus Cluniensis*, which Kornemann took to have been also organized in the Augustan period: "Herrscherkulte" 120 f. The region lies much further east, however, and Clunia at least (which lacks the Augustan byname) may not have been made a *municipium Latini iuris* until the time of Tiberius; cf. H. Galsterer, *Untersuchungen zum römischen Städtewesen auf der iberischen Halbinsel* (Madrider Forschungen 8), Berlin, 1971, 35. The original status of the centres of the three north-western *conventus* is uncertain: Galsterer *o.c.* 30.

[312] Galsterer, *ibid.*; M. I. Henderson, *JRS* 49 (1959), 169; Santos (above, note 307) 544.

[313] Kornemann suggested that Lucus Augusti may originally have ranked higher in importance than the two other *conventus*: "Herrscherkulte" 120, n. 3; cf. Heinen, "Begrundung" 158, n. 1. For the implication of the term *lucus* see above, note 46; further Etienne, *Culte impérial* 384, noting also the usage Lucus Augusti as opposed to Bracara Augusta and Asturica Augusta.

(d) Other Foundations

There remain a number of other possible foundations, evidence for which is of very uncertain value. A brief notice in the *Chronicon* of Cassiodorus (385D) records that during his consulate in 9 B.C. Drusus dedicated a temple to Caesar among the Lingones—the territory of whom lay at that time in Gallia Belgica:[317] *Drusus Nero et L. Quinctius* [*Cusp.*, *Crispinus*]. *His coss. apud Lingonum gentem templum Caesari Drusus sacravit* (Migne, *Patrolog.* [L] Vol. 69, col. 1227). We have no other direct evidence but Mellor has suggested that Andemantunnum (modern Langres) may have been the site, as it was the most important centre in the district and lay on the route by which Drusus must have marched in 9 B.C.[318]; he points to an inscription apparently attesting a local *sacerdos* of the imperial cult (*CIL* 13, 5688), while a fragmentary second text has been restored to read *sacerd.*] *Rom*[*ae* | *et*] *Au*[*gusti*] (*CIL* 13, 5679). If the evidence of Cassiodorus is not simply to be dismissed as untrustworthy, one could suppose that he is drawing here on Livy, whom he certainly names as one of his sources (396).[319] But the inaccuracy of Livy himself in such matters has already been noted, in particular his misrepresentation of the altar of the Three Gauls as *ara divi Caesaris* (*Per.* 139), which compares closely with the *templum Caesaris* mentioned in the *Chronicon.* Cassiodorus could very well be in error, then, regarding the content of the worship. Equally, either Cassiodorus or Livy might be wrong on the nature of the monument itself; at least a temple among the Lingones would be incongruous with similar foundations of the period, all of which centred on an altar. It seems possible, therefore, that behind the misinformation of Cassiodorus may lurk an altar of Roma and Augustus which was established by Drusus among the Lingones in 9 B.C.—very much like that at Cologne. If so, this would in turn strengthen the case for an early foundation by Drusus (*ca.* 12-9 B.C.) of the *ara Ubiorum*, soon after he established the federal altar at Lugdunum. With evidence so slight, however, the matter is best left *sub iudice*, and it should be stressed that beyond the late testimony of Cassiodorus nothing further is known of any such centre of the ruler cult among the Lingones.

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[314] There is no good reason to follow Hübner (above, note 301) in emending Mela to read *Augusti numine* (rather than *nomine*). Certainly cult cannot have been paid to the Numen Augusti; see "Augustus and the West," above, p. 86 with note 24.

[315] Apart from the parallel at Lugdunum, note that the municipal altar of Roma and Augustus at Tarraco may have been erected about the time of his visit there in 26-25 B.C.; below, p. 146. For other local altars in the north-west see Etienne *Culte impérial* 385 f., cf. Syme (above, note 302) 125 f.; Santos (above, note 307) 555.

[316] Etienne, *Culte impérial* 177-195; Mellor (above, note 309) *ibid.* See further *Vae Puto Deus Fio*" below, Vol. I, 2, p. 298. Kornemann, "Herrscherkulte" 119-121, puts the beginning of this cult under Augustus, though the earliest evidence we have is Flavian. While only some ten inscriptions of conventual priests survive, it seems safest at present to follow Etienne in dating the origin of the cult to the reign of Vespasian.

[317] For the consuls of 9 B.C. see Degrassi (above, note 304) 5.

[318] Mellor, "Goddess Roma" 989 f.; cf. *id.*, Dea Roma: *The Development of the Idea of the Goddess Roma* (Diss. Princeton), Princeton, 1967, 31 f.

[319] On Cassiodorus see *Der Kleine Pauly* 1 (1964) 1067-1069. s.v. (Hiltbrunner).

Equal uncertainty surrounds the altar which L. Domitius Ahenobarbus planted on the east bank of the Elbe in *ca.* 2 B.C.; all we have is a bare statement in Dio that an altar was erected there to Augustus:... καὶ βωμὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἱδρύσατο (55, 10a, 2). Dio's lack of precision, like that of other authors, with respect to the altar at Lugdunum speaks for itself, however, and *prima facie*, at least, the altar seems to adhere to the pattern observable elsewhere: the establishment of an altar by a member of the *domus imperatoria* (in this case the husband of Antonia, niece of Augustus) following the imposition of Roman rule. Here again therefore it looks as if an altar to Roma and Augustus may have been set up as the intended nub of a regional cult.[320] On the other hand, there is nothing to show whether Dalmatia and Pannonia were given a provincial cult on the division of Illyricum in A.D. 9. An inscription set up shortly afterwards by the *civitates superioris provinciae Hillyrici* in honour of the governor P. Cornelius Dolabella (*CIL* 3, 1741) is too slight evidence to prove the existence of an early provincial assembly, much less a centre of the imperial cult at Epidaurum;[321] it should probably be considered an isolated example of collective action like that of the *civitates Liburniae* honouring Nero, son of Germanicus (*CIL* 3, 2808: before A.D. 31).[322] Kornemann proposed that the cult based on Scardona in southern Liburnia may have begun under Augustus, also that based on Doclea in south-east Dalmatia;[323] yet there is nothing to date the relevant inscriptions[324] and a Flavian institution of a "*conventus*" cult in Dalmatia, corresponding to that in north-west Spain, looks an equally strong possibility.[325] In Pannonia no traces have survived before the province was divided by Trajan, nor has Moesia produced any evidence before the second century, that is after its division under Domitian.[326] Still, an early provincial cult in some of these areas, perhaps also in Raetia, is not unthinkable in view of the policy that was clearly applied in Gaul, Germany and north-west Spain.

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[320] Heinen, "Begründung" 170, n. 4; Kornemann, "Herrscherkulte" 132, nn. 4, 6; Mellor (above, note 318) *ll.cc.* Hirschfeld doubted this altar was connected with the ruler cult, "Zur Geschichte des römischen Kaiserkultus", *SDAW* (1888), 833-862 at 841, n. 36 (= *id.*, *Kleine Schriften*, Berlin, 1913, 481, n. 1).

[321] Contra J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, London, 1969, 253.

[322] Cf. Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 26; Wilkes, *Dalmatia* 218.

[323] "Herrscherkulte" 121, 122, n. 1.

[324] Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 116 with documentation.

(e) Municipal Cults

Other foundations that have been attributed at one time or another to the reign of Augustus must now be dated to a later period or have turned out to be centres of a municipal rather than provincial cult. Thus the altar set up by the citizens of Tarraco (Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 6, 3, 77)—probably in connection with Augustus' stay there in 26-25 B.C.—is far too early to be linked with the provincial worship of Hither Spain,[327] which undoubtedly had its beginnings under Tiberius (Pl. XXXVII:b).[328] The circumstance that the site of the altar must have been the small forum in the lower city also rules out the possibility of any association with the provincial worship, the centre of which was the great temple located a kilometre away on the uppermost terrace of Tarraco. The municipal cult celebrated at the altar seems nevertheless to have been that of Roma and Augustus.[329] With this may be compared the cult of the Numen Augusti, the form of worship paid by the citizens of Narbo.[330] The municipal centre here seems to have been an altar vowed on 22nd September, A.D. 11 (*CIL* 12, 4333): that is, a few years after the cult of the *numen* had been instituted in Rome with Tiberius' dedication of the Ara Numinis Augusti *ca.* A.D. 6.[331] Both these civic altars, two of the earliest known in the Latin West,[332] illustrate how municipalities tended spontaneously to establish cults patterned on models found elsewhere; though it can hardly be doubted that in practice the main concern of local townsfolk will have been the cult of the reigning emperor.

(f) Client States

One further aspect of the work of Augustus requires at least a passing mention in conclusion: this concerns the eagerness with which client kings honoured their patron by introducing the ruler cult of their own accord—even into lands that, formally at least, lay outside the boundaries of the Roman empire.[333] For example, Herod the Great, whose claim to the throne of Judaea had been confirmed by Augustus, founded the city of Caesarea Philippi and re-built Samaria, which he now named Sebaste. Josephus reports that in both places Herod built a temple of Caesar, yet the one he began at Caesarea in 20/19 B.C. was certainly to Roma and Augustus for we are told that it contained colossal cult statues of the two (above, p. 129). There is nothing to show whether the temple at Samaria-Sebaste will also have served the cult of Roma and Augustus, but Herod's scrupulous adherence to the cult forms prescribed by Augustus is in any event self-evident.[334]

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[325] See "*Vae Puto Deus Fio*" below, Vol. I, 2, p. 299, note 34.

[326] See "Provincial Ruler Cult in the Danube Provinces", below, Vol. I, 2, pp. 302 ff.

[327] So Beurlier (above, note 201) 18.

[328] "Divus Augustus", below, pp. 154-156.

[329] See "The Altar of Augustus at Tarraco", Appendix I, below, pp. 177 f.

[330] See "The Provincial Cult of Narbonensis: three Temples at Narbo"; below, Vol. I, 2, p. 246; further "Genius and Numen", below, Vol. II.

[331] Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* (above, note 59) 42-44.

[332] For the supposed altar of Providentia at Emerita see below, Appendix II, pp. 180-183.

In the West Juba II of Mauretania, whom Augustus had installed as king, began soon after 25 B.C. to build a royal residence at Iol, now called Caesarea in homage to Augustus.[335] We know from coins of a temple that is portrayed with two columns, a balustrade, and *acroteria* at either end of the roof; a globe and crescent crown the summit of the roof, while on the pediment appears an eagle and on the frieze the word AVGVSTI (Pl. XXV: a). The earliest coin of this type is dated to A.D. 5-6 but a similar type was also issued in A.D. 15-19, that is after the death of Augustus.[336] Other coins that are undated depict a tetrastyle temple with a star (?) on the pediment and AVGVSTI in the field (Pl. XXV: b) or a hexastyle temple with an eagle on the pediment and AVGVSTI in the field (Pl. XXV: c).[337] Presumably these various types refer collectively to a single temple of Augustus projected or under construction at Iol, though no remains of such an edifice have been recovered.[338] Juba also struck a series of coins which show on their reverses an altar adorned with the

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[333] Cf. Suet., *Aug.* 60; *RE* 5 (1897) 1288-1295 s.v. Caesarea (Dessau). In the Cimmerian state of Bosporus vestiges of the ruler cult likewise date from the reign of Augustus: W. Blawatsky. "Le culte des empereurs romains au Bosphore" in R. Chevallier (ed.), *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire offerts a André Piganiol,* Paris, 1966, 1541-1545.

[334] Caesarea: Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* 1, 21, 7; *Ant. Iud.* 15, 9, 6; Sebaste: *Ant. Iud.* 15, 8, 5; *Bell. Iud.* 1, 21. 2; cf. Heinen, "Begründung" 155, n. 3., 156, n. 4 with refs; Mellor, ΡΩΜΗ (above, note 202) 94 f., 143 f.

[335] Strabo 17, 3, 12; p. 831; Mazard (above, note 48) 71 with bibl. On the installation of Juba see now N. K. Mackie, "Augustan Colonies in Mauretania", *Historia* 32 (1983), 332-358 at 341 f., 357.

[336] Mazard, *o.c.*, pp. 79-81, nos. 144-152; cf. S. Gsell, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord,* Paris, 1928, 8, 224. Price and Trell, *o.c.* (above, note 97) 74 with fig. 128, noting that the type is based on the 'Curia' coin issued by Augustus *ca.* 29 B.C.: *ibid.* 73 with fig. 125. See now Prayon (above, note 99), suggesting that the issue may date from before the dedication of the Curia Iulia in 29 B.C.

[337] Mazard, *o.c.* nos. 153-155 (tetrastyle), 156 (hexastyle). See further D. Salzmann, "Zur Münzprägung der mauretanischen Könige Juba II und Ptolemaios", *MDAI(M)* 15 (1974), 174-183 at 175; Ph. Leveau, "Caesarea de Maurétanie", *ANRW* 2, 10, 2 (1982) 683-738 at 728 f.

[338] For analysis and detailed discussion see D. Fishwick, "Le culte impérial sous Juba II et Ptolémée de Maurétanie: le témoignage des monnaies", *BCTH* n.s. 19B (1985), 225-233; *id.*, "Coins as Evidence: some Phantom Temples", *EMC* 28, n.s. 3 (1984), 263-270.

corona civica and flanked by laurels (Pl. XXVI: a, b); above and below the altar is the legend LVCVS AVGVSTI with in some cases a serpent curled upon the altar, its head surmounted by a crescent.[339] What is so striking about these issues is the extent to which the various types reproduce the key themes of Augustan ideology—the parallel between the altar and grove at Iol Caesarea and the federal sanctuary at Lugdunum is particularly conspicuous. Juba had, of course, spent many years in Rome and will have known how to show gratitude to Augustus in a way he would have approved. Yet, surprisingly, there is no sign of Roma at Iol Caesarea.[340] One can only conclude that a vassal king, out to display his loyalty, had no need in his own realm of the sort of subterfuge which elsewhere masked the basic fact that the object of the imperial cult was in the last analysis the emperor Augustus.

It was the thesis of Mommsen that Augustus was responsible for the widespread institution in the Latin West of *concilia* charged with the systematic practice of the Roman ruler-cult.[341] What the discussion has attempted to show is that the contribution of Augustus was rather restricted to installing the imperial worship in newly pacified territories, where it was planted as an act of high policy by members of the imperial house; this contrasts sharply with the spontaneous initiatives that are characteristic of provincials in the provinces of the eastern empire.[342] The corrected picture that has emerged is nevertheless entirely consistent with the nature and purpose of provincial emperor cult, which with its emphasis on Roma and Augustus was essentially a device for holding subject peoples in loyalty to the head of the empire, no doubt also to some extent an instrument for the Romanization of uncivilized, native peoples. Krascheninnikoff saw this long ago and hence formulated a "law" that still holds good: the wilder a province, the greater the likelihood it would have received a provincial cult at an early stage of its development.[343] That the strategy worked reasonably well, apart from a bad start in Britain,[344] can hardly be doubted. It created a central focus of loyalty and strenghtened ties particularly between Rome and leaders of the native aristocracy, who now found an outlet for their ambitions in the yearly priesthood, competing among themselves for the privilege of conducting rites expressing loyalty to Rome and the *princeps*. Such a policy was less appropriate in the older provinces of the West, which had sworn loyalty to Octavian in 32 B.C. (*RG* 24, 2) and were already well integrated within the empire. Indeed a deliberate attempt to propagate the worship of the living emperor, even beside Roma, might well have back-fired in Romanized regions such as Narbonensis, Baetica or Proconsularis; far better to let the cult develop here of its own accord, a factor that goes far to explaining the great variety of cult forms to be found particularly at the municipal level. We shall see that precisely the opposite reasons account for the second great stage in the development of the western ruler cult: Vespasian rather than Augustus was to be responsible for the systematic extension of provincial emperor worship because, apart from the administrative convenience of a council in every province, Vespasian needed the support of the older provinces on behalf of a dynasty which lacked the authority and charisma of that founded by Augustus. But first there is the interval of the Julio-Claudians, when Tiberius, in particular, was responsible for setting the imperial cult on a new course by shifting the emphasis to the worship of his deified father.

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[339] Mazard, pp. 81-83, nos. 157-161; 162-165 (serpent).

[340] For the rarity of Roma in Africa see "The Foundation of the Provincial Cult of Africa Proconsularis", below Vol. I, 2, pp. 265 f.

[341] *Römisches Staatsrecht*, Leipzig, 1887, 3, 743 f.

[342] Habicht, "Augusteische Zeit" (above, note 27) 65-69.

[343] *id.* (above, note 42) 169; cf. 175, 184.

[344] See "*Templum Divo Claudio Constitutum*" below, Vol. I, 2, pp. 195 f., 216 f.

II. DIVUS AUGUSTUS

1. *The Temple at Tarraco*

Templum ut in colonia Tarraconensi strueretur Augusto petentibus Hispanis permissum, datumque in omnes provincias exemplum (Tac., *Ann.* 1, 78).

The petition of the Spaniards is placed by Tacitus securely in A.D. 15,[1] well after the new emperor had begun his reign.[2] The exact chronology is of significance since on the face of it they were given permission to build a temple *Augusto*, that is to Augustus before he was officially deified.[3] Likewise in the *H.A.*, the author of the *Vita Hadriani* reports of Hadrian's visit to Spain in the winter of A.D. 121-122:[4] *post haec Hispanias petiit et Tarracone hiemavit, ubi sumptu suo aedem Augusti restituit* (12, 3). A suspiciously similar anecdote in the Life of Severus records that, when he was sent to Spain[5] after his praetorship in Rome (A.D. 177), Septimius dreamed of being told *ut templum Tarraconense Augusti, quod iam labebatur, restitueret* (3, 4); here again the temple is said to be that of Augustus. Of course Tacitus may well be giving the actual words of the embassy[6]—evidently an *ad hoc* delegation specially convened, not representatives of the provincial council[7]—but it is striking that all three literary references consistently ascribe the temple to Augustus. That this must be inexact is clear from the historical context of the Spanish embassy reported by Tacitus. Since Augustus was consecrated *divus* on 17th

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[1] For similar petitions in AD 23, 25 cf. Tac., *Ann.* 4, 15; 37. See further G. Forni, "El culto de Augusto en el compromiso oficial y en el sentimiento oriental," *Bol. del Seminario de Estud. de Arte y Arqueol.* 39 (1973), 105-113.

[2] Cf. Tac., *Ann.* 1, 55 with A. Degrassi, *I Fasti consolari dell'Impero romano*, Rome, 1952, 7.

[3] Permission appears to have been given by the senate (with Tiberius present?); cf. F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 B.C.-A.D. 337)*, London, 1977, 345. For the competence of the senate in such matters see "*Templum Divo Claudio Constitutum*", below, Vol. I, 2 p. 212. On the relationship between senate and emperor see Millar's fundamental account; *o.c.* 341-355.

[4] M. Labrousse, "Note sur la chronologie du premier voyage d'Hadrien," *Mélanges Soc. Toul. d'Etud. Class.* 2 (1948), 135-138.

[5] Apparently as *legatus iuridicus*; cf. A. R. Birley, *Septimius Severus. The African Emperor*, London, 1971, 94.

[6] Otherwise one could have expected Tacitus to have accurately reported the true status of the temple. See "*Templum divo Claudio constitutum*," below, Vol. I, 2, p. 213. E. Koestermann, *Cornelius Tacitus. Annalen*, Heidelberg, 1963, 1, 251 seems to take Tacitus' words literally as implying a temple to the *living* Augustus.

[7] A *concilium* is unlikely to have been in existence before the installation of a provincial cult. See Deininger's discussion, *Provinziallandtage* 28 f.; cf. *id.*, "Zur Begründung des Provinzialkultes in der Baetica," *MDAI* (*M*) 5 (1964), 167-179 at 168, n. 7 (= A. Wlosok [ed.], *Römischer Kaiserkult* [WdF 372], Darmstadt 1978, 442, n. 7). For Tacitean expressions similar to *petentibus Hispanis* see "The Institution of the Provincial Cult in Roman Mauretania", below, Vol. I, 2, pp. 283 f.

September, A.D. 14, the temple at Tarraco can have been linked only with Divus Augustus.

For clarification of the religious status of the temple we may turn to provincial *dupondii* struck at Tarraco under Tiberius, undoubtedly in commemoration of the temple he had sanctioned.[8] On the reverse these issues bear the representation of an octostyle temple with the legend AETERNITATIS AVGVSTAE and C(olonia) [Iulia] V(rbs) T(riumphalis) T(arraco); but their obverses differ in showing either the radiate head of Augustus with DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER (Vives, pl. CLXX, 3) (Pl. XXVII: a)[9] or a seated figure of Augustus with DEO AVGVSTO (Vives, pl. CLXX, 6; CLXXI, 1) (Pl. XXVII: b, c). What the coins put beyond question, therefore, is that the temple was associated with Divus Augustus: indeed it has been suggested that the seated figure of the emperor in the pose of Jupiter may represent the actual cult statue that stood in the temple.[10] But the legend AETERNITATIS AVGVSTAE in the possessive genitive confirms that the temple is technically that of Augustan Eternity.[11] Strictly speaking, this ought to signify the independently existing abstraction that has been appropriated as a minor protective deity by the *domus Augusta* and now assures the eternity of Augustus and (conceivably) his house; but, as so often, *Augusta* is more probably equivalent here to *Augusti*, meaning simply the divinized quality or condition of Eternity personal to Augustus himself (as a result of deification).[12] In any event there can be no doubt that the temple celebrates the deified Augustus even if not directly dedicated to him.[13] As for *deo Augusto*, any possibility that worship was addressed to Augustus as *deus* in his lifetime seems precluded by the date of the coins.[14] One would have thought that the use of *deus* reflects not so much excessive adulation on the part of Spanish provincials[15] as the fact that the terminology for a deified ruler was far from settled.[16]

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[8] A. Vives y Escudero, *La Moneda hispánica*, Madrid, 1924, 4, p. 131, nos. 9, 12, 13; cf. p. 132, no. 16; A. Beltrán, *Curso de Numismática I. Numismática antigua, clásica y de España*, Cartagena, 1950, 353; O. Gil Farrés, *La Moneda hispánica en la Edad Antigua*, Madrid, 1966, 438 with fig. 121; F. A. Burgos, *Catalogo general de la Moneda hispanica desde sus Orígines hasta el Siglo V*, Madrid, 1979, nos. 1737 f., 1743, 1746. See further A. Beltrán, "Los monumentos romanos en las monedas hispano-romanas," *AEA* 26 (1953), 39-66 at 61-63; D. E. Woods, "The Temple of Augustus—Tarragona," in *Classica et Iberica* (Festschrift J. M.-F. Marique, S.J.), Worcester, Mass., 1975, 345-354.

[9] For *Divus Augustus Pater* on Roman coins see H. Mattingly, *B.M.C. R. Emp.* 1, cxxxiv; C. H. V. Sutherland, "Divus Augustus Pater—A Study in the Aes Coinage of Tiberius," *NC* 6, 1 (1941), 97-116; H. Küthman, "Divus Augustus Pater," *Mitt. Hist. Ver. Pfalz* 58 (1960), 65-72; Th. Pekáry, "Zur Datierung der Divus Augustus Pater-Providentia— Prägungen. Ein Münzfund in Vidy bei Lausanne," *GNS* 15 (1965), 128-130.

[10] G. F. Hill, *Notes on the Ancient Coinage of Hispania Citeria* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs 50), New York, 1931, 49; Beltrán (above, note 8) (1953) 63; Etienne, *Culte impérial* 418; J. M. Blázquez, "Propaganda dinástica y culto imperial en las acuñaciones de Hispania," *Numisma* 23/24 (1973/74), 311-329 at 318.

[11] So D. Mannsperger, "ROM. ET AUG. Die Selbst-darstellung des Kaisertums in der römischen Reichsprägung", *ANRW* 2, 1 (1974) 919-996 at 946. See earlier F. Cumont, "L'éternité des empereurs romains," *Rev. d'Hist. et de la Lit. Relig.* 1 (1896), 435-452 at 437; Hill (above, note 10) 47, 49; Beltrán (above, note 8) (1953) 62; Beaujeu, *Rel. Rom.* 145 f.; S. Weinstock, "Treueid und Kaiserkult," *MDAI(A)* 77 (1962), 306-327 at 314.

[12] M. Grant, *Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius...*(Numismatic Notes and Monographs 116), New York, 1950, 86 f.; M. P. Charlesworth, "Providentia and Aeternitas," *HThR* 29 (1936), 107-132 at 124, cf. 130. H. U. Instinsky, "Kaiser und Ewigkeit", *Hermes* 77 (1942), 313-355 at 322, n. 3, doubts that, as early as the reign of Tiberius, the legend could also hint at the permanence of the dynasty and of the form of government founded by Augustus. See in general "Augustan Gods", below, Vol. II.

The coins are also helpful in providing an idea of what the temple was to look like.[17] We are given on the reverse the front view of an imposing edifice with eight columns surmounted by composite capitals. Of the entablature the architrave and frieze are visible, while the pediment above the moulded cornice is decorated in the centre with a disk (*phalera*); palm-shaped *acroteria* crown the ridge and extremities of the gable roof. On three issues the temple stands on a wide stylobate resembling two steps (Vives pl. CLXX, 3, 6; CLXXI, 4) (Pl. XXVII: a, c), but the fourth coin clearly defines the *podium* with a stairway of four steps leading up to the stylobate and flanked by *parotids* (Vives pl. CLXXI, 1) (Pl. XXVII: b); these minor differences probably reflect the imagination or artistic convenience of the die-engraver.[18] If one may follow Vitruvius' directions (*De arch.* 3, 2, 7), the fact that the temple was octostyle should imply that it was dipteral and hence constructed with a double row of columns round the *cella.* As for the cult idol within the temple, if this corresponded to the figure on the obverse of the coins with DEO AVGVSTO, Augustus will have been represented as Jupiter, seated on a throne and holding in his left hand a spear (?) aloft and in his right hand a globe on which stands a small winged Victory;[19] his head appears radiate, a clear sign of deification.[20]

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[13] Cf. R. O. Fink, A. S. Hoey, W. F. Snyder, *The Feriale Duranum*, *YCS* 7 (1940), 60. Etienne's suggestion, *Culte impérial* 408, that the temple was dedicated to both Divus Augustus and Aeternitas Augusta seems unlikely. As the legend dates from long before the completion of the building (below, note 17), it need not accurately anticipate the eventual dedication of the temple.

[14] Vives (above, note 8) 131 f.; Beltrán (above, note 8) (1953) 61 f.; cf. Etienne, *Culte impériale* 417.

[15] So Hill (above, note 10) 49 f.; Etienne, *ibid.*

[16] For *deus* instead of *divus* see Suet., *Vespas.* 23, 4. In the same way *divus* is sometimes used where one might have expected *deus*: Horace, *Odes* 3, 5, 2; cf. Ovid, *Tristia* 3, 1, 78. For Servius' distinction between *deus* and *divus* (*ad Aen.* 5, 45) see Weinstock, *DJ* 391 f.; E. Bickermann, "Consecratio" in den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte* 3-25 at 13, n. 2; G. W. Bowersock, "Greek Intellectuals and the Imperial Cult in the Second Century AD," *ibid.* 179-206 at 198 f.

[17] If the temple was not completed until much later (below, p. 154), then coins struck under Tiberius must show the temple in its *projected* form. A helpful parallel is provided by an *aureus* issued by Octavian in 36 B.C. showing the *projected* temple of Divus Iulius, construction of which was presumably finished by the date of its dedication on 18 August, 29 B.C.: M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge, 1974, no. 540; cf. p. 744; Weinstock, *DJ* 378, 399 f. with pl. 28, no. 7: facing p. 380. Cf. the *projected* temple to Caesar and Clementia which is commemorated on a *denarius* issued in 44 B.C. by P. Sepullius Macer: the coin shows a tetrastyle temple (apparently never begun) and the legend CLEMENTIA CAESARIS: Crawford, *RRC* no. 480, 21; cf. p. 495; Weinstock, *DJ* 241 f. with pl. 17, no. 15. See now F. Prayon "Projectierte Bauten auf römischen Münzen" in B. von Freytag gen. Löringhoff *et al.* (edd.), *Praestant Interna* (Festschrift U. Hausmann), Tübingen, 1982, 319-330; D. Fishwick, "Coins as Evidence: Some Phantom Temples", *EMC* 28, N.S. 3 (1984), 263-270. There is no way of knowing how far the completed temple at Tarraco corresponded to that represented on the coins.

[18] See the basic discussion of Th. Drew-Bear, "Representations of Temples on the Greek Imperial Coinage," *ANSMusN* 19 (1974), 27-63; cf. M. J. Price and B. L. Trell, *Coins and their Cities*, London, 1977, 19. For the view that coins always show monuments already erected see D. F. Brown, *Temples of Rome as Coin Types* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs 90), New York, 1940, 19.

Archaeological remains of the building are very slight and present a number of problems, some perhaps unsolvable given that the temple was eventually used as a quarry for the mediaeval cathedral. It has been proposed that a dedicatory inscription *Divo Augusto*, known from an eighteenth century copy (*CIL* 2, 4093), may originate from the temple;[21] but the stone, which was evidently of considerable size and engraved with large lettering, is now lost. Such a formula would in any case be inappropriate if the temple was that of Augustan Eternity. Otherwise we have assorted fragments of imported white marble (not necessarily from Carrara) that have usually been attributed to the temple, in particular part of a magnificent fluted column of 1.55 m. diameter (Pl. XXVIII: a) and five sections of a frieze with acanthus scroll, discovered in the eighteenth century; (Pl. XXVIII: b)[22] there are also, in addition to many plain marble blocks, the remains of a large composite capital (Pl. XXIX: a) and of several *phalerae*, all expertly worked (Pl. XXIX: b). [23] The ideal reconstruction of the temple drawn by Puig i Cadafalch on the basis of these various data supposes a height of about twenty metres from stylobate to cornice (see

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[19] For the significance of Victory see "*Roma et Augustus*", above, pp. 115-118. On the reverse of the fourth issue, Vives (above, note 8) 4, p. 131, no. 13 (pl. CLXXI, 1), Augustus seems to sit rather on a curule chair and holds the *patera* instead of the globe and Victory. For the emperor as Jupiter see H. G. Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung der römischen Kaiser* (Monumenta Artis Romanae 7), Berlin, 1968, 59-61; 104-108; further Weinstock, *DJ* 304 f., 358.

[20] For a similar coin at Turiaso see Vives 4, 93, 14 (pl. CLVI, 2); Beltrán (above, note 8) (1953) 65; Etienne, *Culte impérial* 417, n. 4. For the radiate crown see in general Weinstock, *DJ* 384.

[21] Etienne, *Culte impérial* 408, n. 2 with bibl., 419, n. 7; cf. G. Alföldy, *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco* (Madrider Forschungen 10), Berlin, 1975, 64. The only other epigraphical reference to the temple looks to be an inscription attesting the *curator templi* (*CIL* 2, 4202 = *ILS* 6946 = Alföldy, *RIT* 264: Pl. 48). But see "The Provincial Cult of Gallia Narbonensis: Three Temples at Narbo", below Vol. I, 2, p. 247, note 50.

[22] See, however, M. W. C. Hassall and R. S. O. Tomlin, *Britannia* 11 (1980), 403, n. 3, observing that the column and the frieze seem not to be of the correct proportions to go together.

[23] Woods (above, note 8) 346 f., 352 f.; Etienne, *Culte impérial* 412 f.; see further J. Morant, "Hallázgos en el Portal del Carro", *Bol. Arqueológico* 69-70 (1969-70), 125 with pl. 1. For the possibility that the *phalerae* may come from a portico attached to the temple see Hauschild (below, note 29) 38. The best preserved is a *phalera* of Jupiter Ammon (Pl. XXIX: b), though this looks attributable rather to the nearby temple of Jupiter. For the significance of the *phalera* as a Dionysiac symbol of empire see A. Alföldi, *Die zwei Lorbeerbäume des Augustus* (Antiquitas 14), Bonn, 1973, 55.

Pl. XXX).[24] Of particular interest for present purposes are fragments of a relief[25] (Pl. XXXI) showing the insignia of the provincial *flamen* (*apex* and *aspergillum*)[26] (Pl. XXXII: a) and a swag of oak leaves between *bucrania*[27] (Pl. XXXII: b), a theme that clearly recalls the *corona civica* of Augustus. As the various marble pieces[28] originate from the uppermost terrace of Tarraco, there is every reason to believe that here stood the temple to which Tacitus alludes (Pl. XXXIII). On the latest view its precise location will have been between the Calle de San Lorenzo and the Calle de Santes Creus, that is southeast of the medieval cathedral, the site of which appears to have originally been an open, unwalled precinct[29] (Pl. XXXIV). But when exactly construction of the temple began or was finally completed remains very uncertain. The most that can be said is that building was under way by the middle of the first century—a coin of A.D. 41 was recovered from the lowest level[30]—and was evidently finished by the early years of Vespasian's reign, if not before.

2. *The Provincial Cults of Tarraconensis and Lusitania*

The picture one has, therefore, is of a large and elegant structure that overlooked the coast from the highest level of the Roman city. To judge from the coins the temple will have been dedicated on completion to *Aeternitas Augusta* and, as such, was undoubtedly conceived as the nub of a new provincial worship that focused on Divus Augustus. The very fact that an embassy was sent to Rome, its members evidently drawn from various communities of the province (*Hispanis*), shows that the request was to build a provincial rather than municipal temple, for which permission would not have been needed.[31] In contrast to other provincial cults in the West, the official worship of Tarraconensis was clearly established on the initiative of the provincials themselves.[32] Other provinces might now take their cue from the precedent set at Tarraco,[33] though it should be noted that Tacitus' remark is a gratuitous observation on his own part, not a statement of policy by Tiberius.[34] Whether an assembly room for delegates to the provincial *concilium* was constructed about this time or at some later stage is impossible to tell, but the existence of a *curia* on the same level as the temple has been deduced from three inscriptions on what have been taken to be benches; the stones themselves have long since disappeared.[35]

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[24] J. Puig I. Cadafalch, *L'Arcquitectura Romana a Catalunya*, Barcelona, 1934, 99-104 at 101. For other estimates see Beltrán (above, note 8) (1953) 62.

[25] G. Alföldy proposes alternatively that the relief may come from the municipal altar mentioned by Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* 6, 3, 77): *RE* Suppl. 15 (1978) 600 s.v. Tarraco. But see "The Altar of Augustus at Tarraco,", below, Appendix I, p. 173. In any event the temple must itself have had a sacrificial altar standing immediately before it; cf. J. E. Stambaugh, "The Functions of Roman Temples", *ANRW* 16, 1 (1978) 568-574.

[26] For the priestly insignia see "Liturgy and Ceremonial", below Vol. II; Etienne, *Culte impérial* 165 f.

[27] See "*Roma et Augustus*", above, pp. 107-110. The civic crown appears as a simple swag on the altars of the *ministri* of the cult at the *compitalia*; cf. Alföldi, *Lorbeerbaüme* (above, note 23) 35 f., 55 with Taf. XV, 1-2. For the oak swag between *bucrania* see, for example, a series of gold coins of Augustus: Alföldi, *o.c.* 32, 55 with Taf. XXX, 2-3. 7, The same theme appears on the altar coins of Tarraco; see "The Altar of Augustus at Tarraco", below, Appendix I, pp. 172 f. (Pl. XXXVII: b).

[28] The fluttering ribbons, which fill part of the field, and various fragments of floral ornament from the entablature can be paralleled on the Ara Pacis and its descendants, a point that strongly supports the view that craftsmen from Italy must have had a hand in work on the temple; Etienne, *Culte impérial* 413 with pl. IV; cf. I. Scott Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (MAAR 22), Rome, 1955, 67; Alföldi, *o.c.* 35, Tafel XIII, I *et passim.*

[29] Th. Hauschild, "Römische Konstruktionen auf der oberen Stadtterrasse des antiken Tarraco", *AEA* 45/47 (1972/74), 8-10, 30-44; Alföldy, "Tarraco" (above, note 25) 600 f., noting that a temple to Jupiter also stood on the top level, possibly north-east of the unwalled precinct. See further P. Bosch-Gimpera, "Katalonien in der Kaiserzeit", *ANRW* 2, 3 (1975) 582-584. See further Addenda, p. 184.

[30] Hauschild, *o.c.*, 40.

Did Roma have a place in the early provincial cult of Tarraconensis, as has sometimes been suggested?[36] There is no trace of her on local coins of the period and a number of general considerations tell strongly against the possibility of her inclusion in the initial stage of the worship. In provincial cult Roma was linked with the living emperor at an *altar*, whereas the cult here was plainly based upon the worship of the deified emperor at a temple. We have no instance in the western empire of a provincial temple to Roma and Divus Augustus,[37] nor has any evidence from Hither Spain accrued to suggest provincial worship of the *living* emperor at this stage. In a province which was relatively Romanized and conservative that would have been a most unlikely development under the Julio-Claudians.[38] It would be helpful if there were an inscription to throw light on the nature of the cult in its early years[39] but so far the earliest trace of a provincial priest of Hither Spain seems to be of Flavian date (*CIL* 2, 4188 = *ILS* 1393).[40] This circumstance is to be explained by the fact that from early in Vespasian's reign retiring high-priests were honoured by statues with inscribed bases that were set up in a forum on the second level of the provincial complex, immediately below the terrace on which stood the temple (Pl. XXXV).[41] What the epigraphical record shows is that the priestly title was *flamen* and that the cult by the Flavian period focused on the reigning emperor and Roma along with the *divi*.[42] The natural interpretation, one would think, is that Roma and the living ruler were later accretions to the original content of the worship, but obviously the point cannot be settled on evidence from Hither Spain alone.

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[31] The provincial status of the temple is further supported by its location in the upper city, away from the town centre—particularly if the site had earlier been a military camp, as Th. Hauschild suspects.

[32] E. Beurlier, *Le Culte impérial. Son histoire et son organisation depuis Auguste jusqu' à Justinien*, Paris 1891, 19; J. Toutain, *Les Cultes païens dans l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1905-1907 (1967) 1, 76.

[33] R. Mellor, "The Goddess Roma", *ANRW* 2, 17, 2 (1981) 950-1030 at 990f., suggests that the *exemplum* given to all the provinces was that of a spontaneous request on the part of the provincials.

[34] Cf. Dio's comment on the significance of the permission Octavian gave in the winter of 30/29 B.C. for non-Roman provincials to pay cult to himself [and Roma]: 51, 20, 7; see "*Roma et Augustus*", above, pp. 126-130. This had set the model for provincial cult of the *living* emperor.

[35] Alföldy *ad RIT* 250 a-b; 251 (= *CIL* 2, 4280); *id.*, "Tarraco" (above note 25) 603; *Flamines Provinciae Hispaniae Citerioris* (Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueologia 6) Madrid, 1973, 9. But see J. Deininger, *Gnomon* 51 (1979), 408.

[36] Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 27, n. 2; cf. Chr. Habicht, "Die augusteische Zeit und das erste Jahrhundert nach Christi Geburt" in den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte* 64, 67. For the inclusion of Roma at the temple see now Mellor (above, note 33) *ibid.* Contra J. J. Sayas Abengochea, "El culto al emperador" in R. Menendez Pidal *et al.*, *Historia de Espana*, Madrid, 1982, 2, 403 f., 409.

[37] For the provincial temple at Lugdunum added by Hadrian see "The Temple of the Three Gauls," below, Vol. I, 2, pp. 308-316.

If next we turn further afield, however, the picture becomes much clearer in the light of comparative evidence from Lusitania. Tacitus preserves no report of an embassy sent by the cities of this province, but everything suggests that the example given at Tarraco was strictly followed at Emerita, the seat of the provincial cult of Lusitania. Once again one can draw on the evidence of coins that are remarkably similar in design and legends to those struck at Tarraco.[43] On their reverses AETERNITATIS AVGVSTAE appears on the outer edge around a tetrastyle temple with C(olonia) A(ugusta) E(merita) below (Pl. XXXVI: a, b), while the obverses show the radiate head of Augustus with DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER (Vives pl. CXLIV, 9, 10)[44] or the head of Tiberius laureate, with TI. CAESAR AVG. PONT. MAX. IMP. (Vives pl. CXLVI, 9, 10).[45] The main item of difference, therefore, is that the temple at Emerita is represented with four columns not eight, but otherwise there is a correspondence in various points of detail, in particular the use of decorative items such as *acroteria* and a *phalera* on the pediment. Quite clearly the temple at Emerita was modelled on that at Tarraco but of simpler and less elegant design—striking testimony to the force of Tacitus' comment.[46] As a result, we have good reason to infer that the provincial cult itself will have closely corresponded to that of Hither Spain.

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[38] For Romanization see in general A. Tovar and J. M.ª Blázquez Martínez, "Forschungsbericht zur Geschichte des römischen Hispanien", *ANRW* 2, 3 (1975) 428-451, especially 436 f.

[39] See below, p. 164. Indirect evidence is further provided by the early popularity of the cult of Divus Augustus both at the private and at the municipal level; see Etienne 419 with refs.

[40] Cf. Alföldy, *Flamines* (above, note 35) p. 61. no. 1.

[41] See "*Flamen Augustorum*" below, Vol. I, 2, p. 277.

[42] *Ibid.* See further C. Fayer, *Il Culto della Dea Roma. Origine e diffusione nell' Impero*, Pescara, 1976, 24 f., 199-205.

[43] Etienne, *Culte impérial* 414 f.; Beltrán (above, note 8) (1953) 54 f.; *id.*, "Las monedas romanas de Mérida: su interpretación historica" in *Augusta Emerita* (Actas del bimilenario de Mérida), Madrid, 1976, 93-105, especially 102 f.

[44] Vives 4, p. 66, no. 59; cf. 60.

[45] *Ibid.* 4, p. 68, no. 80; cf. 81. See also p. 67, no. 77 (pl. CXLVI, 6). See now Burgos (above, note 8) 1569 f., 1583 f.

Fortunately Lusitania has yielded conclusive epigraphical evidence for the content of its official worship of the emperor. A fragmentary inscription from Santarem (Scallabis) records that the distinguished career of L.(?) Pomponius Capito was crowned by the provincial flaminate of Lusitania, his official title reading *flamen provinc(iae) Lusitaniae Divi Aug(usti)* [*et*?] *Divae Aug(ustae)* (*AEpig*, 1966, no. 177); the stone is dated to the first half of A.D. 48 by the consulships of A. Vitellius and L. Vipstanus Poplicola.[47] With this may be compared the text of *CIL* 2, 473: *Divo Augusto | Albinus Albui f. flamen | Divae Aug(ustae) provinciae Lusitan(iae).*[48] Etienne proposed taking *Divae Augustae* as a dative in the sense that the text records a dedication both to Divus Augustus and to Diva Augusta; on this interpretation *Divae Augustae* was cut immediately after *flamen* simply by a mistake of the stone-cutter, and the priest's title therefore conforms to the normal *flamen provinciae*/ *flamen provinciae Lusitaniae.*[49] To judge from the photograph, however, the stone was in fact engraved with exemplary care and skill (Pl. XXXVII: a), in which case to suppose that the mason executed *Divae Augustae* four words and two lines later than intended is to assume an oversight extreme by any yardstick. It might rather be suggested that the stone was inscribed relatively soon after the consecration of Livia, that is when Diva Augusta had recently joined company with Divus Augustus, and the priestly title reflects the recent modification in the nature of the worship as a consequence.[50] Why the deified Augustus is excluded from the formula is not immediately apparent, but perhaps this was thought unnecessary since the dedication clearly links the *flamen* with Divus Augustus. It could also be that local piety to Julia Augusta, who had had a municipal cult at Emerita in her lifetime,[51] explains why her name is given particular emphasis. But the alternative possibility, that Divus Augustus was temporarily dropped from the provincial cult, is most unlikely.

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[46] For remains of *phalerae* at Emerita, similar to those found at Tarraco, see M. F. Squarciapino, "Ipotesi di lavoro sul gruppo di sculture da Pan Caliente", in *Augusta Emerita* (above, note 43) 55-62. Presumably the coins show the *projected* temple. For its possible site see "*Flamen Augustorum*", below, Vol. I, 2, p. 278, note 52; further in general Abengochea (above, note 36) *ibid.*

[47] Degrassi, *Fasti consolari* (above, note 2) 14.

[48] Hübner had earlier read *flamen Divi Aug(usti)*: *CIL* 2, p. 57; but see *AEpig* (1946) no. 201. For *CIL* 2, 41*, which is similarly dedicated to Divus Augustus, see below, p. 164. Hübner places this inscription among *Inscriptiones Falsae vel Alienae.*

[49] *Culte impérial* 124 f., cf. 298. For provincial priests of Lusitania see "*Flamen Augustorum*" below, Vol. I, 2, p. 278 with note 47.

[50] D. Fishwick, "On *CIL* 2, 473," *AJPhil* 91 (1970), 79-82.

[51] Cf. *AEpig* (1915) no. 95: A.D. 14-29. The cult was served by a *flamen.*

What these inscriptions confirm, then, is that the worship of Lusitania centered first on Divus Augustus himself, at which stage the provincial temple at Emerita must have been begun. Subsequently Diva Augusta (Livia) was added some time following her consecration in A.D. 42 and the scope of the cult thus widened to comprise two deified personages. Presumably Claudius followed suit on his death in A.D. 54, though we have no direct evidence; despite Suet., *Claud.* 45, his deification seems not to have been annulled, though Nero did pull down the temple on the Mons Caelius.[52] At any rate the evolution of the provincial cult of Lusitania can be traced without difficulty on the basis of both the inscriptions and the coins. As the pattern was originally set at Tarraco, however, it now becomes possible to argue back from Lusitania to Hither Spain: in effect the epigraphical evidence from Lusitania fills the gap in our record in Tarraconensis. Here, too, the original cult of Divus Augustus must have been expanded to cater for Livia and presumably Claudius also, a form of worship that would appear to have been retained in both provinces down to the time of Vespasian. Against this background one can well understand that the initiative of Baetica in A.D. 25 was misguided. When an embassy to the senate from this province requested permission to build a temple to Tiberius and his mother Livia after the example set by the province of Asia, Tiberius refused the honour (Tac., *Ann.* 4, 37, 1).[53] The guidelines that had been laid down in Hither Spain, and were notably followed in Lusitania, restricted provincial ruler cult to consecrated, deceased members of the imperial house.

3. *The Worship of Divus Augustus*

The reign of Tiberius is therefore critical to the development of the imperial cult in the Western Roman empire. Where Augustus had permitted the worship of himself in association with Roma, Tiberius charted a fresh course by emphasising the cult of his deified father, thus paving the way for the collective worship of the *divi* in the years ahead. From all that our sources have to tell the new direction given to provincial ruler worship looks to have been very much in line with Tiberius' personal outlook on the awkward problem of divine honours.[54] Realising he lacked the charisma of Augustus and that comparison with his idolized predecessor would risk ridicule, Tiberius felt obliged to stress how firmly he was opposed to *isotheoi timai* for himself. In refusing the request of the delegation from Baetica, in particular, he emphatically declared that the emperor was human not divine:[55] *ego me, patres conscripti, mortalem esse et hominum officia fungi satisque habere si locum principem impleam et vos testor et meminisse posteros volo* (*Ann.* 4, 38, 1). Tacitus, who gives a detailed account of the debate in the senate, states that Tiberius intended to curb rumours of his own increasing vanity, and it was undoubtedly with this aim in mind that he declared it would be pretentious and arrogant for the emperor to let his statue be worshipped as that of a god through all the provinces (4, 37, 5).[56] There were, it is true, exceptions that could be allowed to the general policy. In deference to eastern tradition a temple was allowed at Smyrna to Tiberius, Livia and the personified senate—here talking the place held by Roma in the temple Augustus had allowed at Pergamum (*Ann.* 4, 15; cf. CD 59, 28, 1).[57] A guarded ambivalence should probably be read, too, into Tiberius' well-known letter to the Gytheates (*SEG* 11, 922) in which—with words strikingly similar to those of his speech in A.D. 25—he refused divine honours to himself but not so categorically as to deny local flattery any opportunity at all to express itself.[58] The general impression conveyed by the testimony we have, however, is that Tiberius' official posture was to forbid the worship of himself during his lifetime (cf. CD 58, 8, 4).[59] That stance he was prepared to relax only when calculated policy made it desirable—in practice, therefore, in the eastern provinces rather than the western, so restrictive was Augustan precedent.[60]

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[52] See "*Vae Puto Deus Fio*," below, Vol. I, 2, pp. 296 f.

[53] For the background see Koesterman, *Annalen* (above, note 6) 2, 128 f.; cf. Millar (above, note 3) 345 f.

[54] Taeger, *Charisma* 262 ff.

Though not without its contradictions (cf. Tac., *Ann.* 1, 73), Tiberius' attitude to the deceased Augustus was no less clear-cut.[61] The act of consecration he obtained from the senate in September, A.D. 14,[62] is of the greatest significance since it gave the ruler cult the basis of much of its later content. Enrolled by decree among the gods of Rome,[63] Augustus was now *divus*, his status expressed by mention in the formulae and liturgy of the state-religion and by his portrayal on coins with the *corona radiata*;[64] the same distinction was henceforth to be granted most Roman emperors, though some conversely had their memory officially damned.[65] How much importance Tiberius himself attached to the deification of Augustus is shown by the coins he issued honouring his deified father or stressing his own filial relationship to the deified Augustus,[66] also by the first epigraphical evidence for the formula *domus divina*: the meaning at this early age can only have been "house of the *divus*".[67] Evidently Tiberius was alive to the political importance of apotheosis and ready to further the logical development of the ruler cult in the direction first pointed by Ptolemy Philadelphus.[68] Indeed, so important was the distinction of deification that it must be reserved for Augustus alone; otherwise "... *vanescet Augusti honor, si promiscis adulationibus vulgatur.*" (Tac., *Ann.* 4, 37, 5). The context of Tiberius' remark is the proposed temple to himself and Livia in Baetica but the principle applied generally to divine honours that might be contemplated for other members of the imperial family.[69] By the same logic Tiberius himself failed to achieve apotheosis on his own death in A.D. 37.

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[55] Etienne, *Culte impérial* 420 f.: R. Seager, *Tiberius*, London, 1972, 147 f. For an analysis of the ideological background see Habicht (above, note 36) 76-85; cf. Weinstock (above, note 11) 319.

[56] Cf. Tiberius' earlier stipulation that statues and likenesses of himself were not to be placed among the *simulacra* of the gods but only among the *ornamenta* of shrines (Suet., *Tib.* 26, 1; cf. CD 57, 9): Wissowa, *RuKR*² 81, n. 5; Taeger, *Charisma* 262 f.

[57] Wissowa, *RuKR*² 342, n. 2; Latte, *RRG* 306, n. 3; Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 37. See further Addenda, p. 189.

[58] M. Rostovtzeff, "L'empereur Tibère et le culte impérial", *RH* 163 (1930), 1-26; Habicht, (above, note 55) *l.c.* P. Veyne has some helpful comments, "Les honneurs posthumes de Flavia Domitilla", *Latomus* 21 (1962), 62 with n. 3.

[59] Cult was nevertheless paid to him during his own lifetime both east and west. Cf. Seager (above, note 55) 144 f.; *Bull. Epig.* (1971) 142; A. R. R. Sheppard, *AS* 31 (1981), 19-27 at 22; M. Cremer and S. Şahin, *EA* 1 (1983), 141-152, no. 1.

[60] See the summary in Cerfaux-Tondriau 339-342.

[61] Taeger, *Charisma* 216 ff.

[62] In keeping with the ritual of apotheosis, Numerius Atticus first testified he had witnessed with his own eyes the ascension of Augustus: CD 56, 46, 2; Suet., *Aug.* 100, 4. The case was then heard by the senate and found meritorious.

[63] Caesar had been similarly admitted to the official pantheon of the Roman people: J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*², Leipzig, 1885, 3, 463-467; Wissowa, *RuKR*² 342 f.; Latte, *RRG* 317 f.; Weinstock, *DJ* 386-391.

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[64] Since, as *divus*, Augustus had escaped death by being bodily translated to heaven, his *imago* was no longer carried with those of other dead ancestors at the *pompa funebris* of members of his house; instead his statue accompanied the likenesses of the gods in the procession at the *ludi circenses*, when it was borne on a *tensa* drawn by four elephants. For the use of the elephant in imitation of Alexander see P. Herz, "Diva Drusilla", *Historia* 30 (1981), 324-336 at 332 f. with bibl. See further E. Bickerman, "Consecratio" in den Boer (ed.), *Le Culte*, 14-25, noting that the distinction between a deceased emperor and the same emperor as *divus* was expressed in the second and third centuries by the rite of the double funeral; J.-C. Richard, "Recherches sur certains aspects du culte impérial: Les funérailles des empereurs Romains aux deux premiers siècles de notre ère", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1121-1134 with bibl.; J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion*, Oxford, 1979, 73 f.; A. Wlosok, "Einführung" in *Kaiserkult* (above, note 7) 33 f.

[65] W. den Boer, "La 'damnatio memoriae' des empereurs et la religion romaine" in *Transformation et Conflits au IV^e^ Siècle ap. J.-C.: Antiquitas* 29 (1978), 217-224; cf. *id.*, "Rome à travers trois auteurs du quatrième siècle", *Mnemosyne* 21 (1968), 273 f. See further Addenda, p. 189.

[66] Mattingly, *BMC.* 1, cxxviii-cxli; Mannsperger (above, note 11) 945-949. See further above, note 9 with bibl.

[67] Cf. *CIL* 13, 4635: Nasium, Belgica. For discussion see "Domus Divina" below, Vol. II.

[68] "Hellenistic Ruler Cult", above, p. 14.

[69] The birthday of Livia was certainly celebrated under Tiberius and her image seems to have been already borne in procession on a *carpentum*: Herz (above, note 64) 326 with refs., n. 15; *id.*, "Kaiserfeste der Prinzipatszeit", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 1135-1200 at 1153, n. 105. Yet when the senate wished to confer special honours on her, Tiberius objected (Tac., *Ann.* 1, 14) and on Livia's death forbade consecration (CD 58, 2, 1-3), which then had to wait until the reign of Claudius (Suet., *Claud.* 11, 2). See G. Grether, "Livia and the Roman Imperial Cult", *AJPhil* 67 (1946), 222-252; Taeger, *Charisma* 270 f.; Scott Ryberg, *Rites* (above, note 28) 66, 72; H.-W. Ritter, "Livias Erhebung zur Augusta", *Chiron* 2 (1972), 313-338. The day of Livia's final consecration was the anniversary of her marriage into the family of Augustus, with whom she was now made σύνναος, and on Claudius' orders she received sacrifices from the Vestals (CD 60, 5, 2). For the new designation of the temple of Divus Augustus see *CIL* 6, 4222: *...aeditus templi Divi*

But for Divus Augustus no honour was too great. By the decree of consecration an official cult was now instituted with all the necessary appurtenances.[70] Construction of a temple, financed by Tiberius and Livia, began on the level ground between the Palatine and the Basilica Julia:[71] καὶ αὐτῷ ἔν τε τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἡρῷον ψηφισθὲν μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας οἰκοδομηθὲν δὲ ὑπό τε τῆς Λιουίας καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐποιήθη... (CD 56, 46, 3). This was not to be completed until the reign of Gaius (CD 59, 7, 1: A.D. 37) but in the meantime a gold likeness of the deified emperor was temporarily lodged in the sanctuary of Mars Ultor, where it lay on a golden bed:[72] ἐν ᾧ δ' οὖν τὸ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἡρῷον ἐγίγνετο, εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ χρυσῆν ἐπὶ κλίνης ἐς τὸν τοῦ Ἄρεως ναὸν ἔθεσαν, καὶ ἐκείνῃ πάντα ὅσα τῷ ἀγάλματι αὐτοῦ μετὰ τοῦτο χρήσεσθαι ἔμελλον ἐνόμισαν. (CD 56, 46, 4). To serve the cult of Divus Augustus a special *flamen* was also appointed, an honour destined to be extended to each new *divus* in turn down to the beginning of the third century.[73] The first incumbent was Germanicus, who was appointed for life as *flamen Augustalis* and perhaps chosen by Tiberius himself in his capacity as *pontifex maximus*;[74] when Germanicus died, it was

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Aug. | [*et*] *Divae Augustae quod est in Palatium...*; cf. the priestly title of Pomponius Capito in Lusitania, above, p. 157.

Similarly Germanicus was accorded posthumous honours that fell well short of deification, though it was decreed that his name should be chanted in the *Carmen Saliare* (Dio 51, 20, 1 considers this honour to be *isotheos* in the case of Augustus) and his ivory effigy should lead the *pompa circensis* (Tac. *Ann.* 2, 83). See S. Weinstock, "The Image and Chair of Germanicus", *JRS* 47 (1957), 144-154; *id.*, "The Posthumous Honours of Germanicus" in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire offerts à A. Piganiol*, Paris, 1966, 891-898; *DJ* 307 f. See now P. Herz, "Das Kenotaph von Limyra. Kultische und juristische Voraussetzungen," *MDAI* (*I*) 35 (1984), 178-192 at 179 f. On the face of it the posthumous honour of a seat in the theatre for Germanicus has a local parallel at Herculaneum in the similar honour decreed to M. Nonius Balbus; cf. "Gaius Iulius Caesar Octavianus", above, p. 73, note 3. But see the discussion of Schumacher, *o.c. ibid.*, especially 182 f. For marble arches in honour of Germanicus see now the *Tabula Siarensis* 11. 9ff: J. González, *ZPE* 55 (1984), 55-100; 60 (1985), 146; cf. *JRS* 76 (1986), 138f.

[70] Marquardt (above, note 63) 467-469. Note that the senate also converted part of the house where Augustus had been born into a shrine (Suet. *Aug.* 5).

[71] So Marquardt 468. See S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Oxford, 1929, 62-65.

[72] The temple of Mars Ultor was an appropriate choice since it already housed cult statues of Divus Iulius and Venus; cf. the statues of Venus, Mars and Divus Iulius in the *cella* of the later Pantheon (CD 53, 27, 2 f.). For the background see "Augustus and the West" above, p. 87, note 30. In practice the gold *eikon* of Augustus was treated as an *agalma*; cf. K. Tuchelt, *Frühe Denkmäler Roms in Kleinasien* (MDAI [I] Beiheft 23), Tübingen, 1979, 85.

[73] M. W. Hoffman Lewis, *The Official Priests of Rome under the Julio-Claudians* (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 16), Rome, 1955, 77-80; Latte, *RRG* 139, noting that from the second century the *divae* received a *flaminica.*

[74] Suggested by Marquardt (above, note 63) 474. For a possible representation of the *flamen Augustalis* see Weinstock (above, note 69) (1957) 151, n. 56 with refs. A Julio-Claudian relief from the Villa Medici, one of a series attributed to the Ara Pietatis Augustae, shows a procession scene with a *flamen* surrounded by other priests, while two companion reliefs have scenes of the sacrifice of a bull or ox before a temple. The victims are those customarily offered to the Genius of the emperor or to Divus Augustus. See further Scott Ryberg, *Rites* 72 f.; Alföldi, *Lorbeerbäume* 28. On the Villa Medici reliefs see now R. R. Smith, *JRS* 73 (1983), 227. For Germanicus as *flamen Augustalis* see, for example, *CIL* 6, 909; *CIL* 10, 513, 1415.

laid down that he could be succeeded only be another member of the Julio-Claudian house (Tac., *Ann.* 2, 83, 2).[75] Regrettably, no details have come down of the ritual duties he performed[76] nor of the relationship of the *flamen Augustalis* to the *sodales Augustales*, of whom Germanicus was also a member.[77] These were entrusted with the cult of Divus Augustus in Rome and it is known that the sodality had reserved seats at the *ludi Augustales.*[78] Systematic development of the cult was to take place under Gaius,[79] but it is clear that a number of its observances were already in place under Tiberius. In particular the birthday of Augustus (23rd September) continued to be observed after his death by games modelled on the *ludi Martiales*[80] and on this day the Arvals sacrificed an ox to Jupiter Optimus Maximus.[81] Similarly the festival of the *Augustalia*, which had originally celebrated Augustus' return to Rome from Syria in 19 B.C., not only kept its place in the state calendar but from A.D. 14 onwards was marked by annual *ludi Augustales* that ran from 3rd to 12th October. One further innovation was that Livia, who already had the names Julia and Augusta, was made priestess of Augustus at the time he was declared immortal (CD 56, 41, 1). On the face of it this seems to imply that Livia played a part in the state cult,[82] particularly in view of the lictor she was permitted in the exercise of her office[83]—an honour later withdrawn by Tiberius (Tac., *Ann.* 1, 14).[84]

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[75] The priesthood was modelled ultimately on that of the *flamen Dialis*, though Weinstock argues that the direct model must have been the *flamen divi Iulii*: *DJ* 308; cf. 404. See, however, Alföldi, *Gnomon* 47 (1975), 172; J. A. North, *JRS* 65 (1975), 175 f.; further "Divus Iulius", above, pp. 62 f.; Herz (above, note 69) 183 f. For the replacement of Germanicus by the Drusus see Hoffman Lewis (above, note 73) 78; Weinstock, *DJ* 283, further Herz, *loc. cit.*, 502.

[76] See, however, above, note 74. Note that as *flamen Augustalis* Germanicus was given the oak wreath as a symbol of his office: Weinstock (above, note 69) (1957) 152; *DJ* 308, 395, n. 8 with refs.

[77] Founded in A.D. 14, the college was organized on the lines of the *sodales Titii* and made up of twenty-one members chosen by lot from the *primores civitatis*, to whom were added four members of the imperial family: Tiberius, Drusus and Claudius in addition to Germanicus (Tac., *Ann.* 1, 54, 1). See Marquardt 469-475; Hoffman Lewis (above, note 73) 133 f.; Weinstock (above, note 69) (1957), 147; further J. Scheid, "Les prêtres officials sous les empereurs julio-claudiens", *ANRW* 2, 16, 1 (1978) 610-654 with bibl., especially 618, 627, 639, 642, 648 f.; L. Schumacher, "Die vier hohen römischen Priesterkollegien unter den Flaviern, den Antoninen und den Severern (69-235 n. Chr.)", *ibid.* 655-819, especially 813.

[78] The college also served the *gens Iulia*, the central figure of which was now Divus Augustus; in particular they saw to the gentilitial cult at Bovillae, where a *sacrarium* was dedicated in A.D. 16 with an image of Divus Augustus. Their duties included annual *inferiae* for deceased members of the imperial family and in A.D. 22 they appear at *ludi votivi* for Livia's health (Tac., *Ann.* 3, 64, 4).

[79] J. Gagé, "Divus Augustus. L'idée dynastique chez les empereurs Julio-Claudiens", *RA* 34 (1931), 20-29; G. C. Belloni, "Significati storico-politici delle figurazioni e delle scritte delle monete da Augusto a Traiano", *ANRW* 2, 1 (1974) 1044 f.

[80] Herz, "Kaiserfeste" (above, note 69) 1147: Weinstock (above, note 69) (1957), 146 f.

[81] Henzen, *AFA* xxxvf.

[82] So Taylor, *Divinity* 230; Taeger, *Charisma* 219; cf. W. Weber, *Princeps. Studien zur Geschichte des Augustus*, Stuttgart, 1936, 92; Ritter (above, note 69) 324, Herz, "Kaiserfeste" *ibid.*, suggests that the grant of the *carpentum* was in virtue of her priesthood of the new god.

In light of all these developments, then, it is possible to see that the permission given to the embassy from Spain in A.D. 15 was a natural corollary to the new turn taken by the ruler cult in Rome.[85] More particularly, the proposed temple at Tarraco, which set an example for all the provinces, was itself in line with the new temple now under construction at the foot of the Palatine; just as the associated worship of Divus Augustus served by a *flamen* is clearly modelled on the state cult of the deified emperor with his *flamen Augustalis.* The possibility of sacrifices,[86] clearly attested by *bucrania* on the temple frieze, will naturally have had to wait upon completion and dedication, exactly as was the case with the Palatine temple dedicated by Gaius, but we know nothing of any temporary arrangements at Tarraco that might be compared with those at Rome. In the meantime it can scarcely be doubted that the province will have honoured Divus Augustus with cult acts and festivities on his *natalis* and other important occasions.[87] This must have been especially true of the annual meetings of the provincial council of Tarraconensis, once a *concilium* had been brought into existence.[88] So, too, in Lusitania the same line of reasoning can be applied with equal validity to the provincial cult based on the temple at Emerita even if the immediate model here was the centre at Tarraco.[89]

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[83] For official coin-types alluding to Livia as priestess see Grant, *Aspects* (above, note 12) 115-125. Cf. a Vienna cameo where she is represented with the *tympanum* of Cybele, gazing at the bust of the *divus* with its radiate crown: F. Eichler and E. Kris, *Die Kameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum*, Vienna, 1927, 57, pl. 5, no. 9; K. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, Amsterdam, 1964/65, 3, 318. The cameo is reproduced in Weinstock, *DJ* pl. 29, 2; H. von Hesberg, *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978) 939, no. 15. These traces tell against the view that her office was appropriate to a domestic cult of Augustus, even if it was unprecedented for a priestess to serve a god, who since the publication of Augustus' will was technically her father. *Contra* Gagé (above, note 79) 15-20; cf. Bickerman, "Consecratio" (above, note 16) 17. By contrast the festival instituted by Livia in honour of her deceased husband was certainly a private gathering to which were invited only persons of the highest rank; the celebration took the form of three days of scenic games, *ludi Palatini*, held each January (originally 17th-19th) in a small theatre built before the imperial palace: Marquardt 469 with refs., n. 5; cf. Wissowa, *RuKR*² 458, n. 5; Degrassi, *InscrIt* 13, 2; pp. 400 f. The first day of the games thus coincided in date with the marriage of Augustus and Livia, also with the dedication of the Ara Numinis Augusti and the consecration of Livia.

[84] Other records of cult include the statue of Divus Augustus that Livia and Tiberius dedicated by the theatre of Marcellus (Tac., *Ann.* 3, 64, 2); also the consecration at Nola of the house in which Augustus had died (*ibid.*, 4, 57, 1).

[85] Ten years later Cyzicus was to lose its liberty in part, at least, for not having completed the temple of Divus Augustus: Tac., *Ann.*, 4, 36; CD 57, 24, 6.

[86] See the discussion in "Liturgy and Ceremonial", below, Vol. II.

[87] Herz, "Kaiserfeste" 1148.

[88] Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 121-128.

[89] For the council of Lusitania see Deininger, *o.c.* 130 f.; further D. Fishwick, "A Gold Bust of Titus at Emerita," *AJAH* 6 (1981), 89-96 (*ad CIL* 2, 5264).

4. *Flamen Augustalis*

As noted above, we have no epigraphical testimony to the initial years of the official worship of Hither Spain—even the precise title of the high priest is unknown. Kornemann did, indeed, suggest that the original formula was *flamen Augustalis*, but the only example of the term from this province (*CIL* 2, 4223 = *ILS* 6932) is of much later date (AD 110-140), at which stage it occurs alongside other variants of the priestly title.[90] *Flamen Augustalis* is also attested in what is certainly the earliest record we possess of the provincial priesthood of Baetica (*CIL* 2, 3271).[91] Given that the formula is unique in this province and that the stone itself comes from Castulo in Tarraconensis, it is just possible that the term may reflect local acquaintance with a similar title which was then or earlier in use in Hither Spain. Possibly the most significant testimony, however, comes from Conimbriga in Lusitania, where a dedication to Divus Augustus by L. Papirius L.*f.* preserves the title *flamen Augustalis* —probably to be completed *provinciae Lusitaniae* as proposed by Krascheninnikoff.[92] Hübner took the inscription to be false on the basis of Britto's original reading *pro salute* | *et incolumitate civium* (*CIL* 2, 41*); but, if this is discarded as obviously mistaken, one would agree that there no longer seems any reason for doubt. On the contrary a dedication *Divo Augusto* by a *flamen Augustalis* would chime exactly with early development of the provincial cult of Lusitania as sketched above. In that case the combination of title and dedication seems to place this inscription in the period before the deification of Livia in A.D. 42,[93] thus providing the earliest trace so far recovered of provincial ruler worship in Spain.[94] Furthermore, if it is legitimate to argue back from Lusitania to Tarraconensis as before, we may have indirect evidence here for the early use of the title *flamen Augustalis* in Hither Spain.[95] Clearly the firm data needed to decide the matter are not yet there, but Kornemann's thesis continues to merit careful consideration. Should new evidence accrue to strengthen his view, it would corroborate what we have inferred to be the nature and content of the original provincial cult of Tarraconensis.

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[90] Kornemann, "Herrscherkulte" 110 f.; G. Alföldy, *Flamines* (above, note 35) no. 36; cf. *RIT* 287 with bibl.

[91] The inscription is perhaps to be dated early under Domitian. For discussion see "The Origins of the Provincial Cult of Baetica", below, Vol. I, 2, pp. 221 ff.

[92] M. Kraschenínnikoff, "Über die Einführung des provinzialen Kaiserkultus im römischen Westen,", *Philologus* 53 (1894), 147-189 at 177, n. 138 reading PRO..INC·LV...ITAII...., that is *pro*[*v*]*inc*(*iae*) *Lu*[*s*]*ita*[*niae*]; so also Kornemann, "Herrscherkulte" 122, n. 3; cf. Etienne, *Culte impérial* 125.

[93] Etienne, *ibid.*, dates the inscription under the Flavians by comparison with *CIL* 2, 3271; see above, note 91. But a dedication to Divus Augustus is surely to be expected in the Julio-Claudian period rather than later.

[94] D. Fishwick, "An Early Provincial Priest of Lusitania", *Historia* 31 (1982), 249-252.

[95] Whether *flamen Augustalis* later gave way to *flamen...Divi Aug*(*usti*) [*et*?] *Divae Aug*(*ustae*) as in Lusitania (above, p. 157) can hardly be said.

The official worship of the emperor was now set firmly on two distinct tracks: in uncivilized Gaul the cult of Roma and the living ruler (*Augustus*) served by a *sacerdos* at an altar; in Romanized Spain the cult of Divus Augustus served by a *flamen* and centered on a temple. It is not too much to claim that this distinction settles an argument that has dragged on the better part of a century. The point at issue was why in some provinces of the West the high priest should be termed *sacerdos*, in others *flamen*.[96] Was the distinction dependent upon the degree of Romanization,[97] a simple question of terminology,[98] or a matter of chronological development?[99] Nearest to the truth in retrospect came Jullian's suggestion that *sacerdos* was the title where a provincial cult centered on an altar, *flamen* that where it centered on a temple.[100] This stated the facts of the case but without explaining *why* either term should be linked with one particular structure.What the discussion suggests is that the answer is to be sought in the nature of the cult offered rather than in the character of the associated monument.

When a cult was installed from above—normally the case with provincial as opposed to municipal ruler worship—it could be expected to have followed the practice of official religion in Rome. Now in state-religious usage a sharp distinction is observable in the way the Romans preferred one title rather than the other according to the kind of divinity or cult involved. Whereas *sacerdos* is the title appropriate to an imported, peregrine divinity,[101] *flamen*—in origin a function rather than a priesthood[102]—is a technical term applied to the personal priests of official state deities.[103] But this is exactly what a *divus* was—a deceased emperor raised to the rank of state deity by decree of the senate; as a result the priest of Divus Augustus has the title *flamen Augustalis*. Nothing could have been more natural then than that the priestly title should be *flamen* wherever a provincial worship centered on deceased, consecrated members of the imperial house[104]—precisely the case at Tarraco and Emerita. Moreover, though a *flamen* evidently saw to the joint cult of Divus Augustus and Diva

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[96] See Deininger's synthesis, *Provinziallandtage* 148 f.; also O. Hirschfeld, "Zur Geschichte des römischen Kaisercultus," *SDAW* (1888), 833-862 at 849 f. (= *id*, *Kleine Schriften*, Berlin, 1913, 490 f).; Etienne, *Culte impérial* 190-192; Latte, *RRG* 319, n. 4.

[97] C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, Paris, 1913, 4, 441 f.; cf. *id.* in Dar.-Sag. 2, 2 (1896) (1963) 1185 f. s.v. *flamen*; P. Wuilleumier, *Lyon, Métropole des Gaules*, Paris, 1953, 34.

[98] E. G. Hardy, *Studies in Roman History*, London, 1906, 1, 257; E. Bickel, "Die politische und religiöse Bedeutung des Provinzial-oberpriesters im römischen Westen," *BJ* 133 (1928), 1-27 at 22; cf. Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften* (above, note 96) 491.

[99] Kornemann in *RE* 7 (1900) 810 f., s.v. *concilium*; cf. "Herrscherkulte" 101-119.

[100] Jullian (above, note 97) 426, n. 5.

[101] Wissowa, *RuKR*² 482 f.; cf. "*Roma et Augustus*" above, p. 132.

[102] Wissowa, *ibid.*; Samter in *RE* 6 (1909) 2484 ff.; see further Weinstock, *DJ* 306.

[103] Under the Republic these were fifteen in number, three *flamines maiores* (Dialis, Martialis, Quirinalis) and twelve *flamines minores*; cf. Wissowa, *o.c.* 504; Weinstock, *ibid.*

[104] Technically speaking, a *flamen* cannot be attached to two gods, though this rule is broken locally *passim*; cf. Weinstock, *DJ* 309; later, too, in official provincial usage as divinized personages multiplied.

Augusta in Lusitania (above, p. 157), it later became the custom, when other divinized females joined Livia, for their cult to be served by the *flaminica*[105]—usually, if not necessarily, the wife of the *flamen.*[106] This comes out particularly clearly in the (Antonine?) inscription for Quintia Flaccina found at Mulva in Baetica: *flaminic(ae) Divar(um) Aug(ustarum) splend(idae) provinc(iae) Baetic(ae)* (*AEpig,* 1966, no. 183).[107] Where, however, the cult was directed to Roma and the reigning *Augustus,* there was no place in the worship for empresses and hence no female counterpart to the *sacerdos.*[108] This seems to confirm the distinction we have educed between *flamen* and *sacerdos,* which is thus basic to the early development of provincial ruler worship in the Latin West.[109] Once its full implication is recognized it even becomes possible to judge the content of the cult from the incidence of the technical term *flamen* or *sacerdos*—or at least that is true of the initial stages under the Julio-Claudians. Other considerations cloud the usage later and when the content of a provincial cult was expanded the original title of the priest was retained: for example, in Tarraconensis under Vespasian[110] and Tres Galliae under Hadrian.[111]

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[105] A *flaminica* catered for the *divae* in municipal cult also; cf. Etienne, *Culte impérial* 238-50; but here, too, one finds a *flamen* serving the cult of Julia Augusta in her lifetime both at Olisipo (*CIL* 2, 194 = *ILS* 6896: A.D. 14-19) and at Emerita (*AEpig,* 1915, no. 95: A.D. 14-29); cf. above, note 51. According to Tac., *Ann.* 15, 23, 4, Nero's daughter had a *sacerdos* after her death and deification.

[106] For discussion see Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 154; Alföldy, *Flamines* (above, note 35) 49-53; cf. 94-97.

[107] At the provincial level the term *flaminica* begins to appear in the inscriptions of Tarraconensis and Lusitania from the Flavian period onwards; cf. Etienne, *Culte impérial* 166-68; Alföldy (above, note 106) *ll.cc.* Whether the *flaminica* already played a part in cult ritual under the Flavians cannot be said.

[108] Deininger (above, note 106) *l.c.* For a female as municipal *sacerdos* see *CIL* 2, 3278, showing that Valeria Paetina from the colony of Tucci in Baetica served as *sacerdos* at Corduba, *flaminica* at Tucci, and *flaminica sive sacerdos* at the *municipium* of Castulo, cf. *AEpig* (1967) no. 94. The text of *CIL* 2, 3279 (Castulo) depends upon Hübner's restoration; but even if this is unobjectionable, it is by no means clear that the *sacerdos annua* necessarily served the municipal cult of Roma and Augustus.

[109] The thesis is applicable only to *provincial* ruler worship, where the cult could be expected to have followed state-religious practice; here the rule generally holds good that in any one province the same title is employed consistently over the years (for exceptions in Africa and Sardinia see "The Foundation of the Provincial Cult of Africa Proconsularis", Vol. I, 2, pp. 263-267 with note 57). By contrast, lack of uniformity is the hallmark of the municipal priesthood: in Tres Galliae local priests are termed both *sacerdos* and *flamen*; in the Spains a municipal flaminate is the norm, though there are instances of *pontifex*; Narbonensis attests municipal *flamines* as also do Africa and the Mauretaniae, while both *sacerdos* and *flamen* appear in the Danube provinces; nowhere is the choice of title so varied as in Italy itself. Presumably in municipal cult, which sprang up spontaneously, the term was a matter for local decision and doubtless influenced by the preferences and prejudices of the local authorities. The degree to which an area was Romanized might also be a contributing factor under these circumstances. As a result *sacerdos, flamen* and *pontifex* quickly lost any distinction in meaning, and differences in terminology are to be expected that defy analysis or logical explanation. At Pompeii, for instance, the same individual served terms in Augustus' lifetime as variously *sacerdos Augusti Caesaris, sacerdos Augusti, flamen Augusti* and *flamen Caesaris* [*Augusti*] (*CIL* 10, 830, 837 f., 947 f.), his successor being styled *sacerdos Augusti* once more (*ibid.* 840, cf. 944). See in general Jullian in Dar.-Sag. (above, note 97) *ibid.* ; Wissowa, *RuKR*² 483, n. 1; F. Geiger, *De sacerdotibus Augustorum municipalibus,* (Diss. Hal.), Halle, 1913; Latte, *RRG* 319, n. 4; D. Ladage, *Städtische Priester-und Kultämter im Lateinischen Westen des Imperium Romanum zur Kaiserzeit,* Cologne, 1971, 43-46; further Etienne, *Culte impérial* 197-238; D. Chante, *Le Culte impérial en Narbonnaise sous le Haut Empire,* D. E. S. Montpellier, 1967, (dactyl.) 47-108; M. S. Bassignano, *Il Flaminato nelle Province romane dell' Africa,* Rome, 1974; Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 113-115; L. R. Taylor, "The Worship of Augustus in Italy during his lifetime," *TAPA* 51 (1920), 116-133.

No record is preserved of any further contribution at this stage to the imperial cult in the Western Empire, none at least of any major significance; it has been noted earlier that an amphitheatre by the federal centre at Lugdunum was laid down in A.D. 19.[112] In Noricum excavations on the Magdalensberg have unearthed the remains of a temple intended for two deities as demonstrated by its twin *cellae* and two accompanying altars.[113] Construction of this evidently began under Tiberius but there is no compelling reason to believe the temple to have been provincial; one dedicated to Roma and Divus Augustus, as suggested by all commentators,[114] would in fact be unparalleled at the provincial level (above, p. 155). As for the possibility of a municipal temple of the imperial cult on the model of those, for example, at Pola,[115] Lepcis Magna,[116] or perhaps Vienne,[117] or Lugdunum,[118] it should be noted that all of these were designed for Roma and the *living* Augustus; at Ostia, if the date of construction is correct, the city built a municipal temple soon after the death of Augustus, yet still styled *aedes Romae et Augusti.*[119]

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[110] See "*Flamen Augustorum,*" below Vol. I, 2, pp. 276 f.

[111] "The Temple of the Three Gauls," below, Vol. I, 2, pp. 314 f.

[112] "*Roma et Augustus,*" above, pp. 133 f.

[113] *Ibid.* pp. 140 f.

[114] Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 25 f. with bibl. See now G. Piccottini, "Die Stadt auf dem Magdalensberg", *ANRW* 2, 6 (1977) 263-301 at 283 f.; H. Vetters, "Virunum," *ibid.* 302-354 at 335; Fayer (above, note 42) 22.

[115] *CIL* 5, 18 = *ILS* 110. So R. Egger, *Führer durch die Ausgrabungen und das Museum auf dem Magdalensberg,* Klagenfurt, 1969, 17. Cf. *CIL* 10, 6305 (Tarracina), 6485 (Ulubrae).

[116] The priestly titles make no mention of Roma, not that this is decisive; cf. *IRT* 319, 321-323, for example. See now A. Di Vita, "Gli *Emporia* di Tripolitania dall' età di Massinissa a Diocleziano: un profilo storico-instituzionale," *ANRW* 2, 10, 2 (1982) 515-595 at 550 ff. For a possible temple of Roma and Augustus at Mactar see G. Charles-Picard, "Civitas Mactaritana", *Karthago* 8 (1957), 64.

[117] The municipal temple in the forum at Vienne may originally have been to Roma and Augustus but was later re-dedicated to Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta (Livia): J. Formigé, *CRAI* (1924), 275 (= *AEpig*, 1925, no. 75); A. Bruhl in *RE* 8A, 2 (1958) 2120, s.v. Vienna; A. Pelletier, *Vienne antique, de la Conquête romaine aux Invasions alammaniques,* Le Coteau-Roanne, 1982, 446-452. Recent excavations suggest that the temple was part of a much larger complex.

[118] For a municipal temple at Lugdunum possibly under Tiberius see J. Lasfargues and M. Le Glay, "Découverte d'un sanctuaire municipal du culte impérial à Lyon," *CRAI* (1980), 394-414; cf. *Gallia* 40 (1982), 411 f. The dimensions are enormous, almost those of the temple of Mars Ultor at Rome. See J. Lasfargues *et. al.*, *Archéologie en Rhone Alpes. Protohistoire et Monde Gallo-Romain. Dix Ans de Recherches,* Lyon, 1983-84, 162.

[119] See "*Roma et Augustus*", above, p. 141 with note 297. For the priesthood see Fayer (above, note 42) 251 f.

Further debate must obviously wait upon the appearance of an inscription that identifies or gives some clue to the deities whom the temple served. In the meantime the remains on the Magdalensberg may best be left out of consideration as not affecting the force of the main argument. The focal point for purposes of the present discussion is that Tiberius established the cult of his deified father in Rome and that this provided the model for the early provincial worship centered on the temples at Tarraco and Emerita.

APPENDICES

I. THE ALTAR OF AUGUSTUS AT TARRACO*

In a chapter devoted to laughter in his *De institutione oratoria* Quintilian records Augustus' tart reply to the Tarraconians: *Et Augustus, nuntiantibus Terraconensibus palmam in ara eius enatam, "apparet" inquit "quam saepe accendatis"* (6, 3, 77). The incident is not precisely dated but provides a general *terminus ante* for the existence of the altar in that it occurred during the lifetime of Augustus. A similar prodigy, celebrated in an epigram of Philip of Thessalonica (*Anth. Pal.* 9, 307), has been thought to refer to the same event, though it makes no mention of Tarraco; as the context requires a bay tree not a palm, however, the identification with the "miracle" of Quintilian's tale is surely mistaken.[1] Our only other evidence is numismatic. A series of coins struck locally at Tarraco show on their reverses the legend C(olonia) V(rbs) T(riumphalis) T(arraco) with an altar, from the upper part of which springs a palm; the obverses portray variously a bull, the radiate head of Augustus left with DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER, a figure of Augustus seated left with DEO AVGVSTO, or the laureate head of Tiberius left with TI. CAESAR DIVI AVG. F. AVGVSTVS (Pl. XXXVII: b).[2] The connection of these issues with the altar mentioned by Quintilian has been doubted[3] but it is difficult to see what else they could refer to. In any event all belong to the reign of Tiberius, so provide no immediate clue to the year that the altar was erected.

With direct *testimonia* of little help attention has focused on a decree of Mytilene which honours Augustus with a variety of *isotheoi timai*[4] and promises further distinctions should anything be discovered in the future that would "make him more a god" (*OGIS* 456 = *IGRR* 4, 39).[5] A rough date between 27 and 11 B.C. is set internally by the circumstance that the *princeps* is called *Sebastos* (col. a, 11.15-16) and his sister Octavia is still alive (col. b,

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* *Madrider Mitteilungen* 23 (1982) 222-233 (abridged).

[1] A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (edd.), *The Greek Anthology. The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams*, Cambridge, 1968, 1, 300 f., no. V; 2, 333.

[2] A. Vives y Escudero, *La Moneda hispánica*, Madrid, 1924, 4, p. 132, no. 21 (pl. CLXIX, 5); p. 131, nos. 7 (pl. CLXX, 1), 10 (pl. CLXX, 4), 14 (pl. CLXXI, 2). See now F. A. Burgos, *Catálogo general de la Moneda hispánica desde sus Orígines hasta el Siglo V*, Madrid, 1979, nos. 1739, 1741, 1744, 1751.

[3] *RE* Suppl. 15 (1978), 600 s.v. Tarraco (Alföldy). R. Turcan, "L'autel de Rome et Auguste 'Ad Confluentem' ", *ANRW* 2, 12, 1 (1982) 607-644 at 609, suggests that the tree could represent a kind of *lucus*.

[4] For a summary see H. Heinen, "Zur Begründung des römischen Kaiserkultes," *Klio* 11 (1911), 129-177 at 151, n. 4; Taylor, *Divinity* 168, 274.

[5] The provision shows clearly that the "divinity" of Augustus was a matter of status, not function. See in general S. R. F. Price, "Between Man and God: Sacrifice in the Roman Imperial Cult", *JRS* 70 (1980), 28-43 at 34 f.; further Addenda, p. 189.

1.28), but a more precise year can be deduced from the prescription that copies of the decree are to be displayed in the temple of the League of Asia (currently under construction at Pergamum) and in various cities including Actium, Brundisium, Tarraco and Massilia (col. a, 11.12-14). While all these are coastal centres like Mytilene, Tarraco must have been included because of the presence of the emperor there. We know that in 26-25 B.C. Augustus assumed his eighth and ninth consulships at Tarraco while recovering from a dangerous illness after the hard-fought *bellum Cantabricum* (Suet. *Aug.* 26, 3; CD 53, 25, 7). For the moment all eyes were on Tarraco, which now became the venue of numerous embassies, culminating in one from Mytilene led by Potamon (*IG* 12, 44 = *IGRR* 4, 38).[6] It can hardly be doubted that this embassy handed over to Augustus the celebrated decree, which must therefore have been passed by the Mytileneans shortly before.[7] The honours they had established for the emperor will now have been posted publicly in Tarraco for all to see.

It has been generally assumed that the altar of Quintilian's anecdote was erected in the aftermath of this embassy, therefore *ca.* 26 B.C.[8] The supposition is that the example of the Mytileneans will have inspired the inhabitants of Tarraco to emulate their Greek counterparts and that the monument must therefore be attributed to the time of the emperor's convalescence or shortly after. This is a persuasive argument though not necessarily decisive; the altar might have been set up on a later occasion, for example when Augustus visited Spain during his second stay in the West, 16-13 B.C., not that we know if he was ever in Tarraco again.[9] Still, the period *ca.* 26 B.C. certainly seems psychologically the most suitable juncture for the townsfolk to have hit upon the idea. Whatever the actual date, some note should be taken in this connection of the imperial ensigns that decorated the front face and are an iconographical reproduction of the special honours granted Augustus by the senate in 27 B.C. Similar emblems are found commonly on monuments elsewhere in the Latin West;[10] but, if the altar is to be linked with the visit of Augustus in 26-25 B.C., their appearance is presumably due to the personal influence of the *princeps*, whose presence they would indirectly attest.[11] In that case enough time must be allowed for craftsmen (from Italy?) to finish work on the reliefs before the altar was dedicated,[12] not that any comparison would be in order with the far more elaborate Ara Pacis at Rome, the reliefs of which took three and a half years to complete.[13] On the whole, however, it seems unlikely that any firm conclusions on the date of the altar can be drawn from its iconography. If the imperial insignia, as shown on coins of Tiberius' reign, already adorned the front face at the time the altar was dedicated, they could have been sculpted in the year or two immediately after *ca.* 26 B.C.; in which case the monument is one of the earliest we know to bear these emblems.[14] On the other hand, they would be equally appropriate to a structure erected at some later point in the lifetime of Augustus.

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[6] Etienne, *Culte impérial* 362-366.

[7] R. J. Mellor, ΘΕΑ ΡΩΜΗ *The Worship of the Goddess Roma in the Greek World* (Hypomnemata 42), Göttingen, 1975, 67.

[8] Etienne, *Culte impérial* 369 f. with refs.; cf. C. Fayer, *Il Culto della Dea Roma*, Pescara, 1976, 214, n. 8.

[9] C. H. V. Sutherland, "Aspects of Imperialism in Roman Spain," *JRS* 24 (1934), 31-42 at 32, n. 5, citing *RG* 12, 2; CD 54, 23, 7; R. Syme, "The Spanish War of Augustus (26-25 B.C.)," *AJ Phil* 55 (1934), 293-317 at 313.

[10] A. Alföldi, *Zie zwei Lorbeerbaüme des Augustus* (Antiquitas 14), Bonn, 1973, 36 ff. and throughout. To Alföldi's inventory can now be added the important evidence from Tarraco. See above, "*Roma et Augustus*" p. 110.

More precision is possible with respect to the actual site of the altar. Where exactly this was situated is not directly deducible from our sources. It has been proposed by Etienne[15] that the altar will have been close to the provincial temple, permission for which was granted to an embassy of Spaniards in A.D. 15 (Tac., *Ann.* 1, 78);[16] this building is known from archaeological remains to have been located on the topmost terrace of the Roman town in the vicinity of the mediaeval cathedral, near which were found parts of a Corinthian frieze.[17] G. Alföldy has recently suggested that the altar may have stood up here in the middle of an unwalled precinct and that the surviving fragments of a relief showing the attributes of the provincial priest (*apex* and *aspergillum*) and an oak swag between *bucrania*, may belong either to the altar or to the temple (Pls. XXXI-XXXII).[18] In practice, however, this possibility has been excluded by the excavations of Th. Hauschild, from which it seems clear that until the end of Tiberius' reign or thereabouts there were no buildings at all in the upper city; before then the area may have been the site of a military camp. Since the altar was definitely in existence under Augustus, perhaps as early as *ca.* 26 B.C., its location must be sought elsewhere. The only other possible site is the lower or small forum to the southwest, the origins of which go back to the

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[11] The hand of the emperor may similarly be seen behind the motifs on the altars of the *vicomagistri* or their subordinate *ministri* in Rome: Alföldi, *Lorbeerbaüme* 35.

[12] Italian craftsmen seem to have had a hand in the reliefs from the provincial temple; cf. Etienne, *Culte impérial* 413.

[13] "*Roma et Augustus*" above, p. 98 with note 6.

[14] See below, pp. 174 f. The *corona civica* appears on an *aureus* of Augustus already in 27 B.C.; Alföldi, *Lorbeerbaüme* 9 f. cf. 15-17.

[15] *Culte impérial* 369.

[16] For the temple see "Divus Augustus", above, pp. 150-154.

[17] Th. Hauschild, "Römische Konstruktionen auf der oberen Stadtterrasse des antiken Tarraco," *AEA* 45/47 (1972/74), 3-44. See further Addenda, p. 184.

[18] Above, note 3, 602 cf. 600. Etienne, *Culte impérial* 369 rules out any connection with the altar on the grounds that the shield and spear(?) are absent from the relief whereas coins clearly portray them on the altar; cf. *o.c.* pl. XII, 1, 6; XIII, 3; XVI, 1.

Republican period.[19] As it happens, this is precisely where one would expect the altar to be. At Narbo, for example, the altar of the Numen Augusti (*CIL* 12, 4333 = *ILS* 112) stood by the forum, and municipal temples of the imperial cult[20] are commonly found by the forum at one centre after another in the Western provinces (cf. Vitruvius 5, 1, 7).[21] The case for locating the altar of Tarraco in the lower forum must therefore be considered overwhelming, if not closed (Pl. XXXV)[22].

Now that the reliefs from the upper city can no longer be related to the altar, our knowledge of the character of the monument itself is restricted to what can be gleaned from the coins. These confirm that on its front face, bounded by a fluted pilaster at either side, the altar was adorned with an elegant relief showing an oak swag suspended from *bucrania* decorated with fillets; in the loop so formed is a shield which Hill took to obscure a spear piercing it crosswise. The shield and spear he interpreted as trophies of the Cantabrian war, as also does Etienne though referring to a local replica of the *clupeus virtutis.*[23] What was the deeper significance of these motifs, however, can no longer be in doubt following the basic studies of Alföldi, Weinstock and others.

The swag is immediately identifiable as an abbreviated rendering of the civic crown that was given to Augustus in 27 B.C., ostensibly for his merit in restoring the state to the senate and the Roman people.[24] Similarly, as Etienne saw, the shield can only be a recollection of the *clupeus virtutis* which was granted Augustus on the same occasion. The precise significance of the supposed spear, on the other hand, is less clear. This is an uncommon, if not unique, attribute to be associated with the shield[25] but presumably could relate to the emperor's *virtus*, the quality by which a man can benefit his country whether by military prowess or statesmanship.[26] Close inspection of the coins does, however, suggest that Hill has mistaken for a spear what in fact is part of the foliage of the oak swag, as shown by all facsimiles in the catalogues. There is no sign of the two laurel trees that the senate also awarded to Augustus, but it is tempting to speculate they might have had their place on, say, the back of the monument.[27] In any event there can be no doubt that the appearance of the *civica* and *clupeus* on the altar at Tarraco are part of the general extension of the imperial insignia to a wide range of monuments public and private in Italy and the Western provinces. As for the *bucrania* supporting the swag, these can be paralleled on an *aureus* of Augustus showing *bucrania* linked by an oak crown around a candelabrum.[28] The coin is unfortunately of indeterminable date but a similar motif appears on the interior of the precinct wall of the Ara Pacis,[29] also on altars of the *vicomagistri* at Rome dating from A.D. 7.[30]

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[19] Alföldy (above, note 3) 607 with plan of Roman Tarraco 601 f.

[20] For Spanish examples see Etienne, *Culte impérial* 219-222; cf. R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, Oxford, 1973, 132, 178.

[21] Note in particular the municipal temple of Emerita, which certainly stood by the forum; cf. M. A. Basch, "La topografía de Augusta Emerita" in *Symposion de Ciudades Augusteas I, Universidad de Zaragosa, Departamento de Prehistoria y Arqueologia*, Zaragosa, 1976, 203-206. See further Addenda, p. 189.

[22] No connection can be supposed with a small altar inscribed *numini August.*, which was found in the theatre of Tarraco (*AEpig* 1946, no. 198 = *RIT* 48); this bears no similarity whatsoever to the altar portrayed on the coins.

[23] G. F. Hill, *Notes on the Ancient Coinage of Hispania Citerior* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs 50), New York, 1931, 47; Etienne, *Culte impérial* 377, cf. 369.

[24] *RG* 34, 2. See above, "*Roma et Augustus*" pp. 107 f.

[25] There seems to be no parallel example in the iconography of the imperial attributes. For the spear in general see A. Alföldi, "*Hasta—Summa Imperii*", *AJA* 63 (1959), 1-27.

[26] "*Roma et Augustus*", above, p. 109.

One feature unique to the Tarraco altar is the palm sprouting from the top. This surely corresponds to the palm of Quintilian's story and presumably has some basis in fact since it is depicted on the coins. Were it not for the numismatic evidence, the incident might have been consigned to the realm of anecdotal "history"[31] as a similar prodigy is reported at Tralles, where a palm tree reportedly sprang up beneath the statue of Caesar in the temple of Victory; also at Rome on the altar of Jupiter on the Capitol during the war against Perseus (Pliny, *NH* 17, 244). Whether one could have actually taken root in the stonework of the altar as described in the epigram of Philip,[32] for example, is another question. According to Caesar the palm at Tralles sprang up *inter coagmenta lapidum* (*BC* 3, 105; cf. Val. Max. 1, 6, 12)[33] and there are certainly palm trees growing in the lower forum of Tarraco today. The eagerness of the Tarraconians to tell Augustus, however, suggests that they foresaw some political advantage to be gained, so it is possible that the "miracle" could have been contrived.

The significance of the palm seems in any case perfectly clear. As Pliny states of the omen on the Capitol, the tree portends victory. For this reason Caesar had spared a palm tree at Munda (Suet., *Aug.* 94, 11) and statues, coins and iconography in general frequently portray a Victory holding a palm branch against her shoulder.[34] We have no way of knowing what victory the palm at Tarraco supposedly presaged, if indeed it is to be associated with any particular victory at all. Etienne has proposed that Augustus was still at Tarraco when the miracle was announced—therefore a few weeks after the altar was first erected—and would connect the palm with the coming victory over the Cantabri.[35] But Quintilian gives no clue to Augustus' whereabouts at the time and *nuntiantibus* could just as well suggest a special legation; certainly the irony of Augustus' retort implies that rites had been (or should have been) practised for some time. It is equally plausible, then, that the incident took place later—perhaps several years later during Augustus' second visit to Spain—and, if that is the case, the palm may be associated with the general theme of Victory which played so important a role in Augustan ideology. For example, coins sounding the old theme of victory at Naulochus and Actium began to be issued by the mint of Lugdunum in *ca.* 15-12 B.C.,[36] a period that coincides with the foundation of the far grander altar of the Three Gauls, where the twin attendant Victories are so important a part of the symbolism of the monument.[37] If the Tarraconians chose to announce the miracle at a period such as this, one might well wonder whether the palm took root of its own accord or was not deliberately put there as a symbol of loyalty and sympathy with imperial aims.

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[27] As, for example, on the back side of the altar before the temple of Vespasian at Pompeii; cf. "*Roma et Augustus*", above, p. 110.

[28] Alföldi, *Lorbeerbaüme* 32, 56 f. with Tafel XXX, 2, 3, 7.

[29] E. Simon, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Monumenta artis antiquae 1), Tübingen, 1967, 13 f. with pl. 8.

[30] Alföldi, *o.c.* 30 ff.

[31] Cf. Suet., *Aug.* 92, 1; CD 48, 43, 6. See in general F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 B.C.-AD 337)*, London, 1977, 3 f.; R. Saller, "Anecdotes as Historical Evidence for the Principate", *G. & R* 27 (1980), 69-83.

[32] Above, note 1: 'Ρίζαν δ' οὐχ ἀπὸ γῆς μητρὸς βάλεν ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πέτρης/Καίσαρι μὴ τίκτειν οὐδὲ λίθος δύναται (II. 5 f.).

[33] Cf. *enatam inter iuncturas lapidum ante domum suam palmam*... (Suet., *Aug.* 92, 1).

The religious status of the altar has been variously interpreted. It has been suggested that under Augustus the monument served either the provincial or the municipal cult, alternatively that an original municipal structure was joined with the temple under Tiberius to form the nucleus of the provincial cult.[38] In practice only one of these possibilities is consistent with the combined archaeological and epigraphical evidence. What this now makes clear is that the provincial cult centred on the temple, construction of which began late in Tiberius' reign at the very earliest and was barely finished by the accession of Vespasian; at this stage an ambitious building programme was undertaken at the provincial centre on the upper terrace.[39] Clearly an altar that existed under Augustus can only have been municipal,[40] and it now becomes impossible to accept a later link with the provincial temple situated a kilometre away in the upper city; if both altar and temple appear contemporaneously on coins of Tarraco,[41] this is because both are principal landmarks of the city, not because both represent a single organisation.[42]

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[34] T. Hölscher, *Victoria Romana*, Mainz, 1967, 6 *et passim*. The palm (like the laurel) was also the tree of Apollo, who played so large a role in Augustan propaganda; but the primary association is surely with Victory.

[35] *Culte impérial* 377, n. 1.

[36] "*Roma et Augustus*", above, p. 117, note 145.

[37] For the significance of the Victories at Lugdunum see *ibid.* 111 ff.

[38] Etienne, *Culte impérial* 370, 372 with refs.

[39] Hauschild (above, note 17); Alföldy (above, note 3) 600-605, 608; *id.*, *Flamines Provinciae Hispaniae Citerioris* (Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueologia 6), Madrid, 1973, 4-10, 14-19.

[40] So rightly J. J. Sayas Abengochea, "El culto al emperador" in R. Menendez Pidal *et al.*, *Historia de España*, Madrid, 1982, 2, 402.

As for the nature of the municipal cult, if the altar was inspired by the example of the Mytileneans, one might expect *a priori* that the worship at both centres will have been parallel. At first glance this points to a cult of Augustus alone. In the decree of Mytilene there is a reference to sacrifices which apparently took place in the temple of Zeus ... καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ (col. a, 1.15). So, too, at Tarraco Quintilian's anecdote seems entirely consistent in alluding to an altar of Augustus ... *palmam in ara eius enatam* ... . As it turns out, however, the temple at Mytilene was certainly dedicated to Roma and Augustus:[43] an inscription of the late first century B.C. attests a priest of these two in conjunction (*IG* 12, 2, 656 = *IGRR* 4, 95)—none other than C. Claudius Diaphenes, son of the famous Potamon, who had led the embassy to Tarraco in 26 B.C.—and there is a later dedication to Roma and Tiberius (*IG* 12, 2, Suppl. 9 + Addenda *ad* 9, p. 208). Similarly at Tarraco there are unmistakable traces of a cult of Roma and Augustus.[44] An inscription from the lower forum was originally dated by Hübner to the time of Augustus (though solely on the letter forms) and restored to read *...flam*[*ini*] | [*Romae*] *et August*[*i*]... (*CIL* 2, 6097); whatever its precise date—the completion *August(orum)* rather than *August(i)* would make it post-Augustan[45]—this certainly seems to confirm the inclusion of Roma in the municipal worship. One may compare an inscription from Clunia *...flamini* | *Romae et* | *Divi Aug*|*usti*... (*CIL* 2, 2782), which surely attests an original cult of Roma and Augustus that continued after his death and deification. At all events there is good reason to believe that at Tarraco, just as at Mytilene, the municipal cult was originally directed to Roma and the living emperor.[46] If so, this circumstance tells strongly in favour of the thesis that the municipal altar was established on the heels of the Mytilenean embassy and might even be taken to imply that Augustus himself had recommended a form of cult identical with that he had prescribed a few years earlier for non-Roman provincials in the Greek east.[47] But Etienne is right to insist that Roma remained very much in the background.[48] Her omission in Quintilian's anecdote compares closely with the way that at Lugdunum and elsewhere the literary sources regularly overlook the presence of the goddess beside Augustus.[49]

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[41] For the temple see "Divus Augustus", above, pp. 151 f. with note 8. As the temple was not completed until much later, coins struck under Tiberius must show its *projected* form: *ibid.*, note 17.

[42] Proposed by A. L. Abaecherli, "The Institution of the Imperial Cult in the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire", *SMSR* 11 (1935), 163-5; cf. Etienne, *Culte impérial* 372.

[43] Mellor, ΡΩΜΗ (above, note 7) 67; Fayer, *Roma* (above, note 8) 137.

[44] Etienne, *Culte impérial* 293; R. J. Mellor, *Dea Roma: the Development of the Idea of the Goddess Roma* (Diss. Princeton), Princeton, 1967, 46-50; Fayer, *o.c.* 215.

[45] Suggested by G. Alföldy, *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco*, Berlin, 1975, *ad* no. 173; cf. *CIL* 2, 4224 = Alföldy, *RIT* 171 (Flavian or first half of second century, A.D.).

[46] For the suggestion that the altar at Tarraco was dedicated to the *numen* of Augustus see R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford, 1939, 473. Epigraphical evidence aside, this looks ruled out by the circumstance that the Ara Numinis Augusti in Rome (with which the cult of the *numen* begins) was not dedicated by Tiberius until perhaps A.D. 6; cf. Alföldi, *Lorbeerbaüme* 42-44—much later than the probable date of the Tarraco altar.

The place of the altar in the later development of the cult is not made clear by the evidence.[50] Inscriptions show that the worship was enlarged to include the *divi*, though mention of Roma is sometimes omitted, and give the impression that a similar development took place at Tarraco as in other municipal centres of Spain, Africa and elsewhere. Individual *divi* tend to get their own priesthoods whereas the cult in general was served by a priest often called simply *flamen*; presumably he saw to the worship of Roma and the living emperor plus such *divi* as were not specially catered for. Municipal *flaminicae* and the *severi Augustales*[51] are also well in evidence and the general vitality of the municipal cult is to be seen in the numerous statues found in the lower forum that honour municipal priests and members of the imperial family.[52] But one development is conspicuously absent from the traces we have. There is no hint in the epigraphical or literary texts of a municipal temple, which could be expected to have stood in the vicinity of the altar. We have seen that a temple is mentioned in the decree of Mytilene and temples are found at other Spanish centres, several of them perhaps linked with the municipal cult.[53] Most significant of these in the present context is the temple which stood by the forum of Emerita and was evidently a monument of the local municipal cult, though usually described (without any justification) as the temple of Diana.[54] This is of particular interest since the provincial temple of Lusitania, known from coins to have stood at Emerita,[55] was evidently modelled on the provincial temple at Tarraco.[56]

In view of the close connection between the capital cities of Lusitania and Tarraconensis, it would be reasonable to expect a municipal temple at Tarraco corresponding to that at Emerita. In this connection attention may be drawn to the remains of a large edifice including part of a column that were found on the Calle de Lérida at the north-west end of the lower forum in 1887.[57]

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[47] For references and background see "*Roma et Augustus*", above, pp. 126 ff.

[48] *Culte impérial* 374. This seems to be true generally in the West, despite her prior position in the word order.

[49] See now R. J. Mellor, "The Goddess Roma", *ANRW* 2, 17, 2 (1981) 985.

[50] Etienne, *Culte impérial* 205 f., 211 f., 295 ff.; Alföldy (above, note 3) 635 f. with lists of inscriptions.

[51] Etienne 258 f.; Alföldy 623 f. See in general R. Duthoy, "Les *Augustales", *ANRW* 2, 16, 2 (1978), 1254-1309.

[52] Alföldy 607, cf. 635 f.

[53] Etienne 219-222.

[54] Above, note 21.

[55] "Divus Augustus" above, p. 156, notes 44 f.; cf. 43.

[56] Above, note 16.

> "Encuéntranse en las inmediaciones de estos muros unos inmensos sillares, bien labrados, de forma paralelepípeda, que sin la menor duda constituían las paredes de algún grandioso edificio, fuese templo o palacio, y su antigüedad se deduce en que encima de estas ruinas se encontraron a capas horizontales tierras de detritus, pertenecientes a ruinas de tiempos posteriores... Un importantísimo resto se ha encontrado entre estos paredones, que... consiste en un gran trozo del fuste de una columna estriada, perteneciente al *imoscapo* de la misma, labrada en mármol jaspeado procedente de estas canteras. Su altura es de 1 metro 32 centímetros...; mide 2 metros 6 centrímetros de circunferencia...; está estriada [con] 20 [estrías]."

Whether these traces might conceivably be associated with a municipal temple must remain very uncertain pending further archaeological exploration of the site. In the meantime analogy with other centres requires that the possibility should certainly remain open.[58]

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[57] Juan Serra Vilaró, "Excavaciones en Tarragona" in *Memorias de la Junta Superior de Excavaciones y Antigüedades* 116 (1932), 51 quoting D. Buenaventura Hernandez Sanahuja, *Antigüedades de Tarragona*, Madrid, 1887, 3 f. This reference was kindly supplied by Dr. Eva Koppel-Guggenheim.

[58] *CIL* 2, 6081 (= *RIT* 79) seems to refer to gold statues of Divus Verus. If these were intended to be carried in procession as part of the liturgy of the municipal cult, comparison with the practice at other centres suggests that they would have been kept in the *pronaos* of the temple. In that case these statues may provide indirect evidence for the existence of a municipal temple at Tarraco. For discussion of the rite see D. Fishwick, "A Gold Bust of Titus at Emerita", *AJAH* 6 (1981) 89-96; further "Liturgy and Ceremonial", below, Vol. II.

II. THE ALTAR OF PROVIDENTIA ON COINS OF EMERITA

Our knowledge of what has been taken to be a local altar at Emerita is based upon a series of bronze coins issued by the colony during the reign of Tiberius.[1] These show on their reverses a large monument in the form of a square, on the front of which is a simulated double door with corner pilasters or small columns; on some issues similar pilasters appear at the centre of the doors. Above the crowning cornice the usual altar horns are replaced by what look to be three palms at either side, while in the field PER(*missu*) and AVG(*usti*) can be read left and right of the altar, below which appears PROVIDEN(*tia*). The obverses show the head of Augustus mostly left and radiate with DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER, also on some issues C(olonia) A(ugusta) E(merita) (Pl. XXXVIII: a, b). Apart from the coins, we have no literary or epigraphical evidence to work with, nor have any archaeological traces been recovered.

Sutherland originally dated the altar to the reign of Augustus on the grounds that it was similar to an earlier altar at Tarraco established perhaps *ca.* 26 B.C.[2] Direct testimony to this is provided by a series of *dupondii* that were struck at Tarraco under Tiberius and also show on their reverses an altar from which rises a palm.[3] In the most recent treatment of the municipal cult of Emerita Etienne has likewise stressed the correspondence between the coins of both centres and pointed to the possible influence of retired veterans resident in the colony.[4] He proposes a date *ca.* 15 B.C. since it was about two years earlier(?) that imperial issues began to stress the theme of Augustus' foresight in linking the succession with the name of Agrippa, who had presented Emerita with a theatre and was personally popular there.[5]

As Sutherland himself stressed, the coins of Emerita are all posthumous to the reign of Augustus—not that this in itself is a basic objection to assigning the altar to his lifetime: the altar of Tarraco certainly existed under Augustus yet is first attested on coins after his death. But the circumstance is put in a new light when it becomes clear that the similarity between the issues of the two towns lies mainly in their obverses,[6] rather than the reverses showing the two altars. To judge from the coins the monument celebrated by Emerita bore little, if any, resemblance to that at Tarraco. The latter was decorated with imperial insignia of a type found commonly on public and private monuments in Italy and the Western empire, in particular an oak swag (*corona civica*) suspended from *bucrania* with a shield (*clupeus virtutis*) in the loop so formed.[7] Again, a single palm springs luxuriantly from the centre of the Tarraco altar—where it evidently recalls the famous miracle announced by the townsfolk to Augustus (Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 6, 3, 77)—and can in no way be compared with the two sets of scraggy palm branches that jut above the altar at Emerita. Much more significantly, there is no mention at Tarraco of PROVIDENTIA, unquestionably the most significant feature of the Emerita reverses.

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[1] A. Vives y Escudero, *La Moneda hispánica*, Madrid, 1924, 4, p. 64, no. 39 (pl. CXLII, 9); p. 65, nos. 46-49 (pl. CXLIII, 6, 7, 9, 10); p. 66, nos. 58, 61 (pl. CXLIV, 8, 11), 64 (pl. CXLV, 3). See now F. A. Burgos, *Catálogo general de la Moneda hispánica desde sus Orígines hasta el Siglo V*, Madrid, 1979, nos. 1571-74, 1579-82. For commentary see A. Beltrán, "Los monumentos romanos en las monedas hispano-romanas", *AEA* 26 (1953), 39-66 at 55 f.; *id.*, "Las monedas romanas de Mérida: su interpretación historica" in *Augusta Emerita* (Actas del bimilenario de Mérida), Madrid, 1976, 93-105 at 103.

[2] C. H. Sutherland, "Aspects of Imperialism in Roman Spain", *JRS* 24 (1934), 31-42 at 32, nn. 5 f.; *id., The Romans in Spain 217 B.C.-A.D. 117*, London, 1939 (1971), 154. For the date of the Tarraco altar see "The Altar of Augustus at Tarraco" above, Appendix I, pp. 171-173.

[3] "Altar of Augustus", above, p. 171, note 2. For the obverses see *ibid.*

[4] Etienne, *Culte impérial* 378 f., cf. 395 with refs.

[5] For Agrippa see Mattingly, *BMC* 1, 21 ff. (13-12 B.C.), 142 f. (undated).

In cataloguing the coins of Emerita Vives drew attention to issues of Italica that likewise show an altar with the legend PROVIDENTIAE AVGVSTI.[8] Beltrán has emphasised that no real resemblance exists between the two altars apart from the circumstance that both evidently served the same cult; the nearest correspondence is rather between the altar coins of Emerita and a bronze coin, issued by Agrippa II of Judaea (A.D. 50-100), which likewise shows a square monument with simulated door, though it has the legend SALVTI AVGVSTI SC.[9] Beltrán gave no reason for the appearance of virtually the same type at centres situated so widely apart, but in practice only one explanation comes into question: both must be provincial copies of an official Roman issue.

The common type from which both are derived may be identified without difficulty as an undated *as* belonging to the "DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER" series of Tiberius' reign (Pl. XXXVIII: c). [10] On the obverse appears the head of Augustus radiate and DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER starting low left, while the reverse shows SC large, left and right of a monument with panelled door in front; above are what Mattingly describes as flames or (more probably) altar horns. In the exergue can be read PROVIDENT. "What is actually shown is not an altar but the precincts of one—an altar-wall, with door through which one could pass to the altar itself"—very much therefore as on coins of the Ara Pacis type issued by the mint of Lugdunum under Nero.[11] Presumably, then, the altar of PROVIDENTIA in Rome was of the same precinct type as the well-known Ara Pacis.[12] The cult of Augustan abstractions may well have begun in the period following the constitutional settlement of 27 B.C.,[13] but the first we hear of Providentia is under Tiberius, who was responsible for constructing the altar portrayed on the coins.[14] On Mattingly's view the *providentia* commemorated will be that for which Augustus was remembered after his death as well as during life.[15] Against this Charlesworth argued from the epigraphical evidence that the Ara Providentiae Augustae in Rome was dedicated in commemoration of Tiberius' escape from Sejanus (A.D. 31) and that the *providentia* commemorated is therefore that of the current ruler, Tiberius.[16] Fortunately the point has been settled by a new fragment of the Arval Acta for the year A.D. 38.[17] This gives the date 26th June for a sacrifice to Providentia Augusta and thus confirms the connection of the cult with Augustus' adoption of Tiberius as his successor on this day in A.D. 4; in so doing it strongly supports the view of Béranger that Tiberius founded the cult twenty-five years later in A.D. 29, a period to which the coins could certainly be assigned.[18] Mattingly would therefore be correct in that the cult celebrated Augustus' providence for the dynasty in securing the succession of Tiberius, though no doubt *providentia* quickly became a general quality of Tiberius and later successors, as Charlesworth first argued. But one would doubt Mattingly's suggestion that the altar is a direct reference to the worship of the dead emperor. The cult it served is surely that of Providentia Augusta rather than of Divus Augustus, the centre for which must have temporarily been the temple of Mars Ultor in the Forum of Augustus. It was here that a gold statue of the deified emperor was kept (CD 56, 46, 6) pending completion of the temple of Divus Augustus, currently under construction.[19] In any case the correspondence of the type with that at Emerita is beyond question; apart from the transformation of the horns into palms the only significant difference is that SC is naturally omitted on a local provincial issue.

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[6] Above, note 3. Cf. Vives (above, note 1) 4, p. 131, no. 7 (Tarraco), showing obverse the radiate head of Augustus left and DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER.

[7] "Altar of Augustus" pp. 174 f.

[8] Vives 4, p. 60, type 14 *ad* p. 127, nos. 9 f (pl. CLXVIII, 8 f.).

[9] Beltrán (above, note 1), citing A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Jewish Coins*^{2}, Jerusalem, 1940, nos. 103 f. (AD 85, 86). Despite the different legend, this is clearly the same altar and obviously a copy of a Flavian issue, itself a revival of a type of Tiberius. For parallels see, for example, the following—all showing roughly the same altar with SALVTI AVGVSTI: *BMC* 2, p. 261, no. 189 + (pl. 50, 1); p. 361, no. 291 (pl. 70, 7); p. 367, no. 316 (pl. 72, 1); p. 375, no. 358 (pl. 74, 4).

[10] *BMC* 1, pp. cxxxixf, 141, nos. 146-150 (pl. 25, 12; 26, 2). For bibliography see "Divus Augustus" above, p. 151, note 9.

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[11] *BMC* 1, pp. 271 f., nos. 360-5 (pl. 47, 2); Robertson, *HCC* 1, p. 141, no. 113.

[12] E. Simon, *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Monumenta artis antiquae 1) Tübingen, 1967.

[13] See "Augustus and the West," above, pp. 85 f.

[14] I. Scott Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art* (MAAR 22) Rome, 1955, 64 f., 80, n. 59. See further P. Herz, "Die Arvalakten des Jahres 38n. Chr.", *BJ* 181 (1981), 89-110 at 94.

[15] *BMC* 1, p. cxl.

[16] M. P. Charlesworth, "Providentia and Aeternitas", *HThR* 29 (1936), 107-132 at 111 f. with refs.; followed by Scott Ryberg (above, note 14) *ll.cc.* For the altar see Henzen, *AFA* XLV, 15; pp. 75 f., 125. On other occasions sacrifice is made to Providentia tout court: *AFA* LXXIV, 14; LXXXI, 4; pp. 84, 86, 121; cf. p. 112 (*Providentiae deorum*).

[17] J. Scheid and H. Broise, "Deux nouveaux fragments des actes des Frères Arvales de l'année 38 ap. J.C.", *MEFRA* 92 (1980), 215-248 especially 232 ff.; cf. Henzen, *AFA* 75 f.

[18] J. Béranger, "La 'prévoyance' (providentia) impériale et Tacite, Annales I, 8" in *id., Principatus. Etudes de notions et d'histoire politiques dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine*, Geneva, 1973, 331-352 at 338 ff. So earlier M. Grant, *Roman Anniversary Issues*, Cambridge, 1950, 63. See further Addenda, p. 184.

The fact that the coins of Emerita are clearly a copy of a Roman type has important consequences for their chronology and for the identity of the structure they portray. There can no longer be any reason to believe that the altar of PROVIDENTIA,[20] supposedly at Emerita, was a monument of the Augustan period modelled on the municipal altar of Tarraco. An Augustan date is now ruled out by the circumstance that on the evidence of the coins the prototype was rather the great altar, erected late in his reign by Tiberius in Rome. But this also excludes the possibility that the monument they portray is a local altar at Emerita. It must rather be the actual altar of Providentia in Rome,[21] here shown on a local issue exactly as Spanish types of uncertain attribution portray other monuments in Rome, such as the altar of Fortuna Redux, the temple of Jupiter Tonans, or a small temple of Mars Ultor.[22] Whether the type struck by Emerita, the provincial capital of Lusitania, influenced that at Italica in Baetica can hardly be said; here the altar, which is portrayed of different design, is that of Providentia Augusti.[23] In any event it is clear that the altar of Providentia on coins of Emerita has no direct bearing on the local cult of the emperor. We do not know if Augustus had been worshipped here before his death but Livia had a priest between A.D. 14 and 29 and there are traces of a *flaminica* and the *seviri Augustales*; both Concordia Augusti and Salus Augusti also received local cults.[24] Eventually Emerita had a municipal temple, which under Marcus Aurelius evidently served the cult of the deified Antoninus Pius (*CIL* 2, 480) and is to be identified with the edifice by the forum today called the temple of Diana.[25] But there is no trace as yet of the cult of Providentia or Providentia Augusta/i, nor do we have any reason on present evidence to suppose that Emerita had an altar specifically for the worship of this abstraction.

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[19] For the cult of Divus Augustus in Rome see "Divus Augustus" pp. 158-163.

[20] Beltrán (above, note 1) consistently refers to the altar of Providencia *Augusta*; the coins show simply *PROVIDENT.*

[21] The same point must also apply to the bronze coin of Agrippa II: above, p. 181 with note 9. See further Addenda, p. 184.

[22] Mattingly, *BMC* 1, p. cxi. Parallel examples in the East are noted by M. J. Price and B. L. Trell, *Coins and their Cities*, London, 1977, 33. For the interpretation of the *aedicula* of Mars Ultor see C. J. Simpson, "The Date of Dedication of the Temple of Mars Ultor", *JRS* 67 (1977), 91-94.

[23] Little, if any, difference in meaning can be supposed between the genitive and adjectival forms. For discussion see "Augustan Blessing and Virtues" below Vol. II.

[24] Etienne, *Culte impérial* 199, 238, 254, 320-22 with refs.

[25] "Altar of Augustus", above, p. 174, note 21. The municipal temple is not to be confused with the provincial temple at Emerita, which presumably stood in the vicinity of the amphitheatre. See "Divus Augustus", above, p. 156, notes 43-45; cf. 33; D. Fishwick, "A Gold Bust of Titus at Emerita", *AJAH* 6 (1981) 89-96 at 92.

III. ADDENDA

p. 4, note 7:

S. R. F. Price, ***Rituals and Power. The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor***, Cambridge, 1984, 32-34, agrees that the systems of heroic and divine honours overlap, but explains "confusion" between the two in terms of differing perceptions of the status of the honorand. (This could well be true of Hercules but seems less likely in other instances: Theagenes for example.) He stresses that only at a superficial level—the extension of traditional heroic honours—can the posthumous heroic cults of important civic figures be considered the precursor of divine ruler cult. For the changing nature of hero cult in the Hellenistic age see Price 35f.

p. 6, note 3; cf. pp. 11, 46:

Price, *o.c.* 29f., 43, 52, cf. 244, 247f., emphasises that cities established cults in an attempt to come to terms with a new type of power and that the cults of the gods provided the one model available for representing an external power on which the city was dependent. Gratitude for benefits was certainly an important element (*ibid.* 55, 174) but the establishment of cults should be seen as essentially a response to power. (Cf. Nock, *Essays* 250; Habicht, *Gottmenschentum* 235f: cited by Price 52, n. 135) This is a helpful analysis though power must surely be beneficent for it to excite cult. In any event whether ruler cult is to be seen as a reaction to power or to the beneficial exercise of power (*euergesiai*), the basic point remains what it always has been: rulers and others were treated like gods because they seemed like gods and acted like gods. See further D. Fishwick, *Phoenix* 40 (1986), forthcoming.

p. 7, note 10:

See further P. 15 with nn. 42f. cf. 37f., 233.

p. 9, note 27:

For *proskynesis* as a secular honour to rulers see P. 15, n. 45.

p. 12, note 43:

P. 47-51 gives a useful survey of the public cults of individual citizens in Greek cities.

p. 12, note 48:

For the cults of Hellenistic kings, particularly in the cities of Asia Minor, see P. 25-40.

p. 16, note 71; cf. p. 23:

For the details we have of the civic cult of Antiochus III and Laodice at Teos see P. 30-32.

p. 21, note 4:

On sanctuaries, altars and temples in the imperial period see now P.'s thorough treatment 133-169.

p. 22, note 7:

For the title of temple warden see P. 67.

p. 23, note 10:

On the terms *agalma, eikon, andrias* see P. 176-179, noting *inter alia* that *eikon* can sometimes be used of the main image in a temple. The generalization that an *agalma* belongs in a temple would appear to rule out Dittenberger's restoration of *OGIS* 11, 11. 14f., though the *agalma* of Zeus Meilichios in Pausanias 2, 20, 1-2 seems not to have stood in a temple; cf. the *agalmata* in the gymnasium at Messene (2, 32, 1).

p. 28, note 45:

For *epiphanes* see now S. R. F. Price, "Gods and Emperors: The Greek Language of the Roman Imperial Cult", *JHS* 104 (1984), 79-95 at 86f.

p. 28, note 49; cf. p. 34, note 10:

On the use of *theos* see Price, *o.c.* throughout.

p. 29, note 55:

For attributes see P. 183f., citing Philo's condemnation of Gaius' assumption in person of divine insignia (*Legatio* 75-114).

p. 34, note 11; cf. pp. 39-41, 46:

P. 7-9 draws out the implications of *isotheoi timai.* He emphasizes that imperial rituals were not just a series of honours but, more importantly, a public cognitive system, a way of defining the position of the emperor, of articulating his collective representation.

p. 34, note 14:

For the Roman emperor both as the object of cult and as priest see P. 185 with nn. 76f. and bibl.

p. 37, note 42:

On the subject of prayers in the Roman Imperial Cult see Price, *o.c.* 91-93.

p. 39, note 58:

See P. 55f, 243, 245, citing *IGRR* 4, 39, in which the city of Mytilene holds open the possibility of further honours that can deify Augustus even more. The implication seems to be that the honours themselves enhance, on P.'s interpretation even establish his status as a god.

p. 42, note 75:

P. 15f. rejects the idea that ruler worship is a political phenomenon, though he agrees that there could be strong central interest in promoting the imperial cult (68, 74, 233). Yet when a cult was installed from above or its content modified in line with the ideology of a new regime, this was surely a matter of politics at one level of analysis. Such looks to have been the case with all provincial cults in the West with the exception of that of Tarraconensis, where provincials took the initiative; we also hear of an unsuccessful embassy from Baetica (above, p. 158). How provincial cults were received in the West we have little or no report apart from Tacitus' remark, *Ann.* 14,31 (below, p. 196).

p. 44, note 83:

P. 9f. rejects emotion as a criterion for judging the significance of rituals on the grounds that it is covertly Christianizing, an appeal to the Christian virtue of *religio animi*. Emotion or enthusiasm is nevertheless well in evidence from time to time, for example in the Ithyphallikos or the decree of the province of Asia (P. 54), and must surely be allowed relevance in terms of contemporary standards.

p. 46, note 2:

On cults of individual Romans see P. 42-44, 46f.

p. 47, note 8:

P. 72-74 gives a thoughtful analysis of the imperial strategy of refusing offers of cult.

p. 49, note 20:

On the Chios inscription see further P. 41 with n. 78.

p. 50, note 26:

For cults of Roma and the like see P. 41f. cf. 163, noting that there was no cult of the Roman senate in the East under the Republic.

p. 52, note 35:

See now J. Poucet, "Un culte d'Enée dans la region lavinate au quatrième siècle avant Jésus Christ'' in H. Zehnacker and G. Henz (édd.), *Hommages à Robert Schilling* (Coll. d'Ét. lat., sér. scient. 37), Paris, 1983, 85-92; M. Torelli, *Lavinio e Roma. Riti iniziatici e matrimonio tra archeologia e storia*, Rome, 1984; cf. M. N. S. Sellers, *JRS* 76 (1986), 298-300.

p. 52, note 35:

Further discussion in R. Turcan, ''Enée, Lavinium et les treize autels. En marge d'un livre récent'', *RHR* 200 (1983), 41-66. See further below, p. 189.

p. 56, note 2:

For *Caesarea* at Xanthos, Pergamum and Messene see P. 147f. with n. 42.

p. 76, note 26:

See further P. 76f.

p. 87, note 26:

See further P. 111.

p. 97, note 1:

P. 74 insists that we do not know for certain that Rome took the initiative in establishing the provincial sanctuary of the Three Gauls. The suggestion that the cult may have been set up spontaneously by local initiative (as with the municipal cults of Tarraco and Narbo) was originally made by Toutain, *Cultes païens* 1, 76, with n. 2; but the historical context, as given by Livy and Dio, tells strongly against such a version and it is difficult to think that the leaders of the Gauls would have chosen this particular moment to institute a form of cult known nowhere previously in the West except at Tarraco (where the model of Mytilene was very immediate; above, pp. 171f.). Nor does the circumstance that Gaius Iulius Vercondaridubnus may have welcomed a cult that enhanced his own status diminish the political significance of Drusus' actions: cf. D. Fishwick, *Phoenix* 40 (1986), forthcoming.

p. 123, note 187; cf. p. 133:

See now P. 188-90; further below, p. 190.

p. 123, note 187:

See now T. Pekáry, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft* (Das römische Herrscherbild: Abt. 3; Bd. 5), Berlin, 1985, 119-122; cf. 16f.

p. 126, note 202:

P. 46 notes *ad* Suet., *Aug.* 52 (!) that few temples to proconsuls were actually built.

ibid., note 204:

P. 56 sees the proposals of the *koinon* of Asia as a reaction not so much to specific benefactions as to the very existence of Augustus and his general activities. That existence and those activities were nevertheless very beneficial in establishing peace and order. The response would surely have been different if the triumph of Octavian had brought repression and confiscations. See above p. 185 *ad* p. 6, note 3 etc.

p. 129, note 223:

See P. 187f.

p. 130, note 229:

P. 53ff. gives a useful survey of the historical development.

ibid., note 231:

See now P. 50f., noting that from the reign of Augustus onwards local citizens were awarded heroic rather than divine honours. For the cult of T. Statilius Taurus at Thespiae (attested under Tiberius) see L. Moretti, *Athenaeum* 59 (1981), 71-77.

ibid., note 233:

See further P. 79.

p. 141, note 298:

On the physical arrangement of temples see P. 146-169. He notes, 152, n. 47, that the temple at Ephesus, possibly that of Roma and Divus Iulius, was divided.

p. 154, note 29:

See now the translation into Catalonian of Hauschild's article in Th. Hauschild, *Arquitectura romana de Tarragona*, Tarragona, 1983, 87-129.

p. 159, note 57:

P. 185, cf. 66, notes that the temple at Smyrna contained a cult statue of Tiberius, perhaps with veiled head: that is, as priest. On the place of *both* Roma and the Senate in the provincial cult of Asia see now D. Kienast, *Chiron* 15 (1985), 253-83 at 258ff.

p. 160, note 65:

P. 194 points out that the phrase *damnatio memoriae* does not occur in the ancient sources. But closely related terminology certainly occurs in legal texts: see F. Vittinghof, *Der Staatsfeind in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Untersuchungen zur damnatio memoriae*, Berlin, 1936, 64ff.

p. 171, note 5:

For the decree of Mytilene (*IGRR* 4, 39) see P. Index, p. 289.

p. 174, note 21:

For comparable examples of imperial monuments at the centre of a city in the East see P. 136-146.

p. 182, note 18; cf. 86, note 24:

R. T. Scott, "Providentia Aug.", *Historia* 31 (1982), 436-459, takes the 'Providentia' altar reverses to have been struck throughout Tiberius' reign, beginning as early as A.D. 15-16, and proposes that the altar dedicated by Tiberius on 17th January, *ca.* A.D. 6 (Degrassi, *InscrIt* 13, 2, p. 115), was that of Providentia Augusta/i—not of the Numen Augusti. The new *AFA* fragment, associating the Providentia Augusta with the date of 26th June, tells strongly against this hypothesis.

p. 183, note 21:

J.-P. Martin, *Providentia Deorum. Recherches sur certains aspects religieux du pouvoir impérial romain* (Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome 61), Rome, 1982, 103-128 especially 114, 118, arrives independently at the conclusion that coins of Emerita show not a local altar but the Ara Providentiae at Rome, as depicted on the "DIVVS AVGVSTVS" series of Tiberius' reign. He dates the Roman issues to *ca.* A.D. 32 and later on the grounds that they were occasioned by the plot of Sejanus. The Providentia will therefore have been that displayed by Tiberius in suppressing Sejanus and assuring the future of the dynasty: the link with Divus Augustus Pater emphasizes Tiberius' own legitimacy against the background of this conspiracy, while the reference to Agrippa affirms that a successor can be selected only from a privileged family, Tiberius' "providential" choice being Caligula, grandson of Agrippa. Ingenious as all this is, it is surely easier to associate these allusions with the 25th anniversary of Tiberius' adoption by Augustus on 26th June, A.D. 4—a point seemingly confirmed by the date of 26th June preserved in the new fragment of the AFA (above, p. 182). If Martin's thesis were correct, its impact on the discussion would be that the Emerita coins could not have been issued before A.D. 32 rather than possibly as early as A.D. 30 on the view argued above. See further P. Herz, *Gnomon* 56 (1984), 149 f.

Martin further proposes that the altar of Providentia represented on coins of Italica must be an actual monument in the colony since it certainly differs from the altar shown on the Roman issues. One might rather believe that the local engraver at Italica has made free use of artistic licence in imitating a Roman type.

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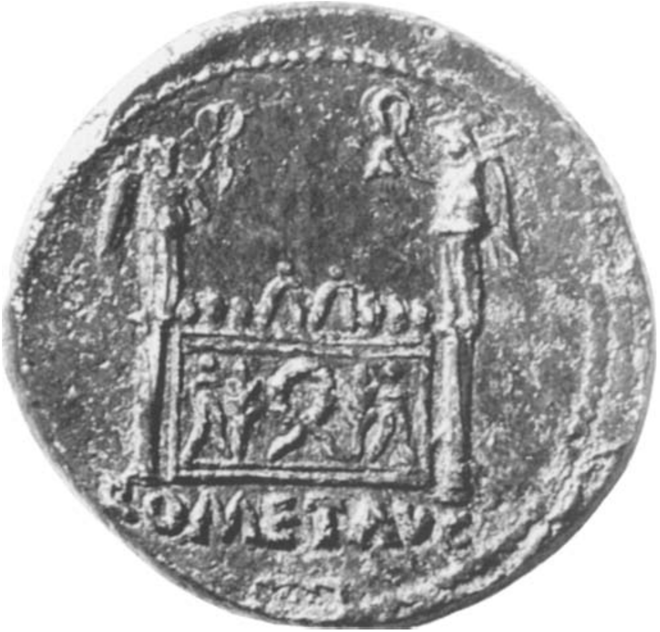
XXVa,b,c	The Temple of Augustus at Iol Caesarea. Photographs from J. Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque*, Paris, 1955, p. 244, nos. 147, 153, 156.
XXVIa,b	The altar within the grove of Juba II at Iol Caesarea. Photographs from J. Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque*, Paris, 1955, p. 244, nos. 157 f.
XXVIIa,b,c	Colonial issues of Tarraco, struck under Tiberius. Photographs from R. Etienne, *Le Culte impérial dans la Pénin-*

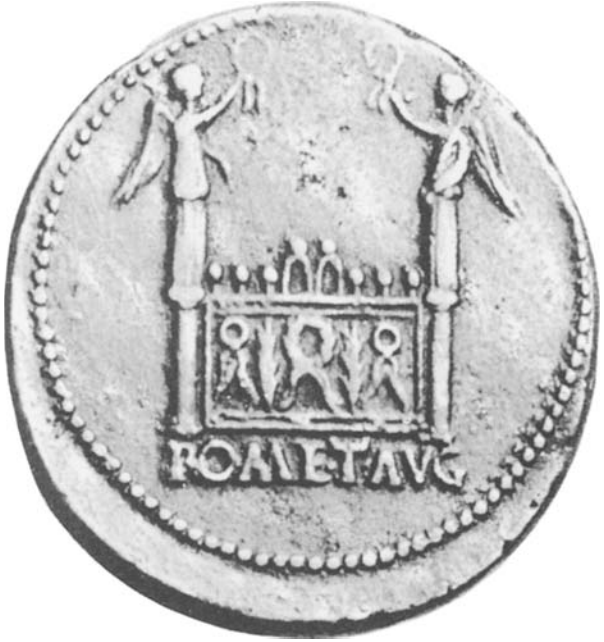
	sule ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien (Bibl. des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 191), Paris, 1958, pl. XII, nos. 7,9; G. F. Hill, *Notes on the Ancient Coinage of Hispania Citerior* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs 50), New York, 1931, pl. V, no. 6.
XXVIIIa,b, XXIXa	Marble remains attributed to the "Temple of Augustus" (Tarragona, Museo Arqueológico). Photographs by courtesy of the Museo Arqueológico, Tarragona.
XXIXb	*Phalera* of Jupiter Ammon at Tarraco (Tarragona, Museo Arqueológico). Photograph by courtesy of the Museo Arqueológico, Tarragona.
XXX	Reconstruction of provincial temple of Tarraconensis. Photograph from J. Puig I Cadafalch, *L'Arcquitectura romana a Catalunya*, Barcelona, 1934, p. 101.
XXXI	Sections of frieze from provincial temple. Photograph from R. Etienne, *Le Culte impérial dans la Péninsule ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (Bibl. des Ecoles francaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 191), Paris, 1958, pl. III.
XXXIIa	Insignia of provincial high priest with oak swag. Photograph by courtesy of Museo Arqueológico, Tarragona.
XXXIIb	Civic crown on temple frieze. Photograph by courtesy of Museo Arqueológico, Tarragona.
XXXIII	Aerial view of mediaeval cathedral of Tarragona. Photograph from Th. Hauschild, "Römische Konstruktionen auf der oberen Stadtterrasse des antiken Tarraco", *Archiv Español de Arqueologia* 45/47 (1972/4) Abb. 1.
XXXIV	Street plan of upper-city of Tarragona. Photograph from Th. Hauschild, "Römische Konstruktionen auf der oberen Stadtterrasse des antiken Tarraco", *Archiv Español de Arqueologia* 45/47 (1972/4) Abb. 3.
XXXV	Plan of Roman city of Tarraco. Photograph from G. Alföldy, *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco* (Madrider Forschungen, Band 10), Berlin, 1975, 2, Plan 2.
XXXVIa,b	Colonial issues of Emerita, struck under Tiberius. Photograph from A. Vives y Escudero, *La Moneda hispánica*, Madrid, 1924, 4, lám. CXLIV, no. 9; CXLVI, no. 9.
XXXVIIa	*CIL* 2, 473. Photograph from R. Etienne, *Le Culte impérial dans la Péninsule ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (Bibl. des Ecoles francaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 191), Paris, 1958, pl. I.
XXXVIIb	Coin of Tarraco, struck under Tiberius showing reverse: the "Altar of Augustus". Photograph from R. Etienne, *Le Culte*

	impérial dans la Péninsule ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien (Bibl. des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 191), Paris, 1958, pl. XVI, no. 1.
XXXVIIIa,b	Coins of Emerita, struck under Tiberius showing reverse: the altar of Providentia. Photographs from A. Vives y Escudero, *La Moneda hispánica*, Madrid, 1924, 4, lám. CXLIII, no. 9; CXLV, no. 3.
XXXVIIIc	Undated *as* of Tiberius showing reverse: the altar of Providentia at Rome (London, British Museum). Photograph from C. H. V. Sutherland, *Münzen der Römer*, Munich, 1974, p. 148, no. 278 (= *BMC* 1, pl. 26, 2).

PLATES

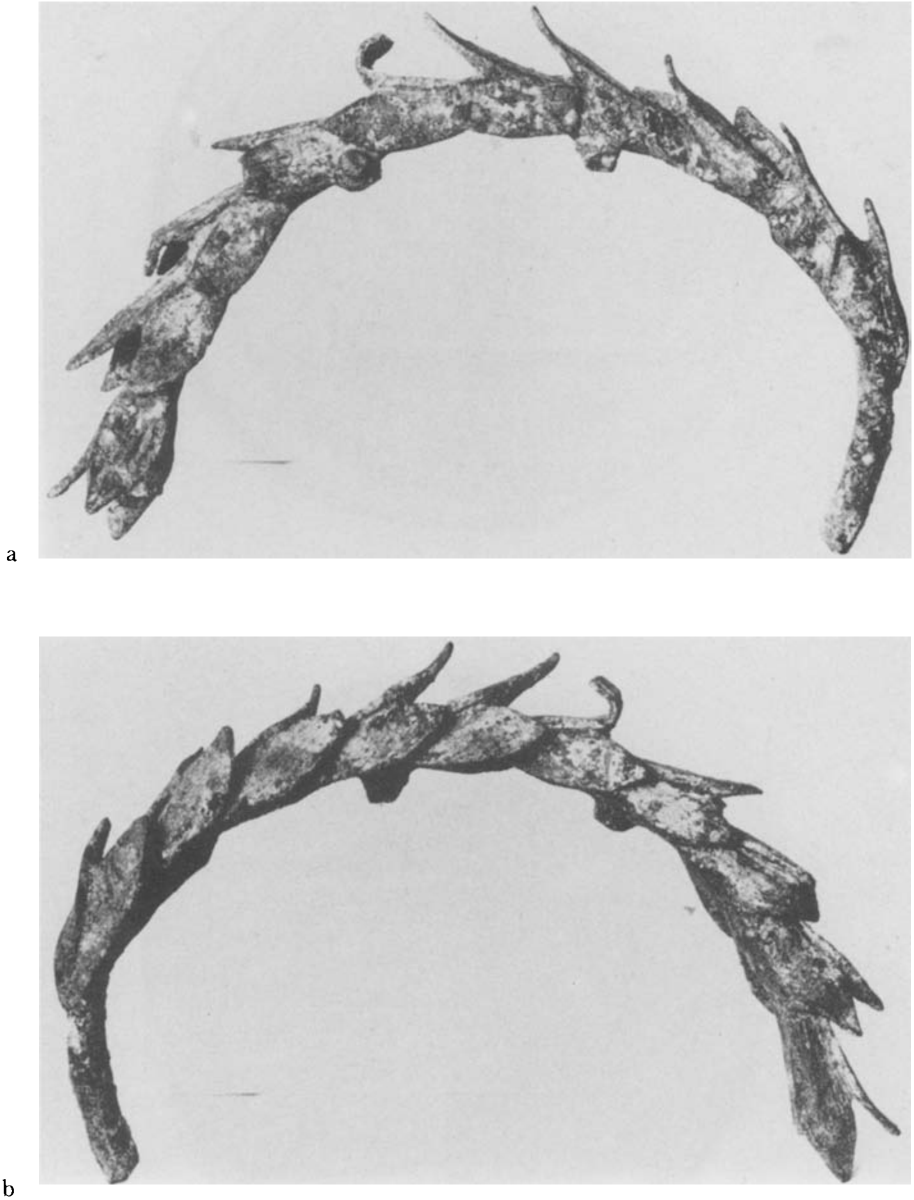


a) *Sestertius* of Augustus, struck 2 B.C.-A.D. 14, showing reverse: altar of Roma and Augustus.



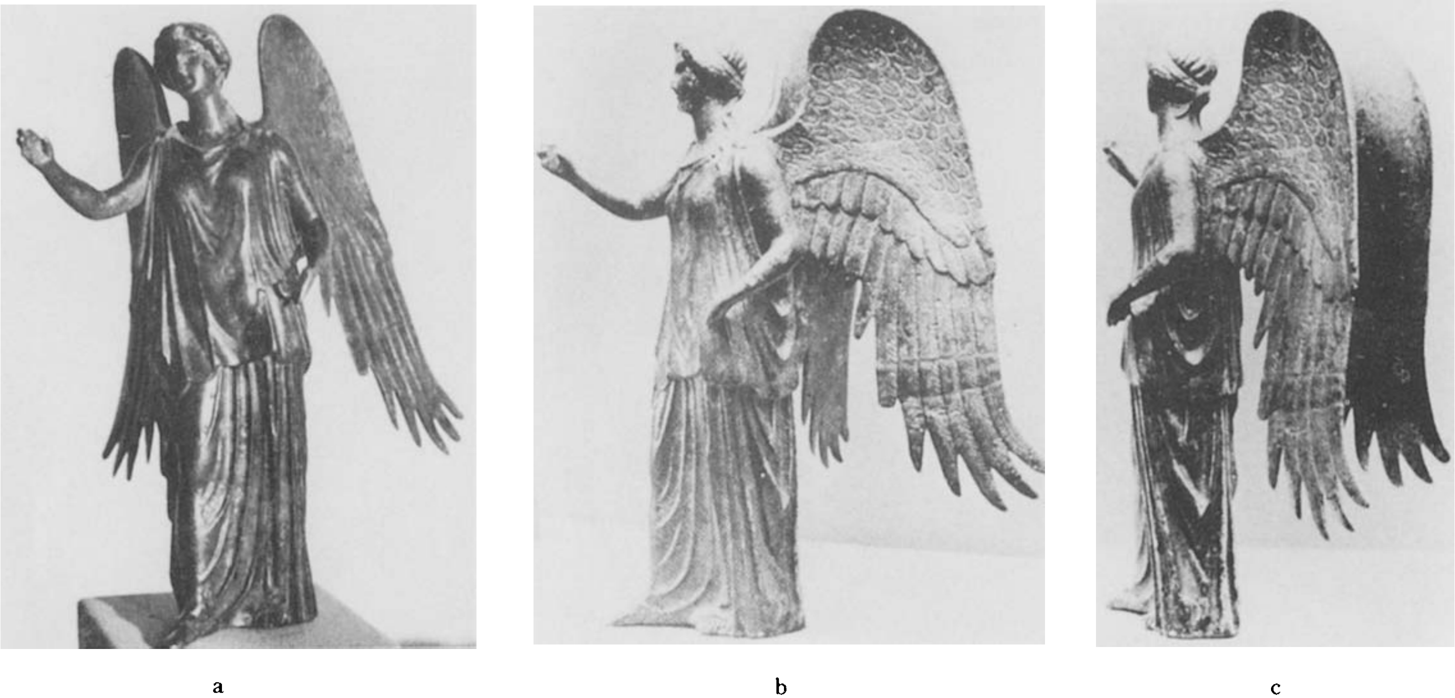
b) *Sestertius* of Tiberius, struck A.D. 8-11.

PLATE II



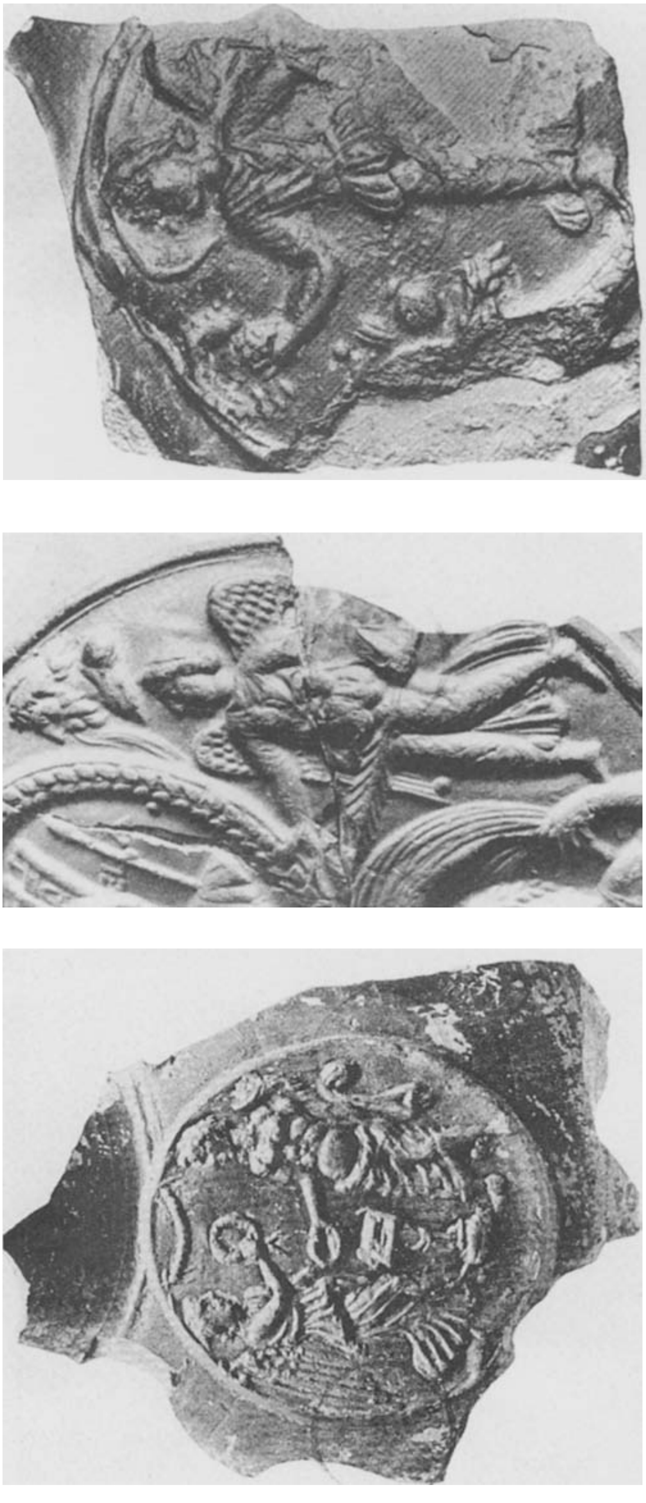
Part of large crown of laurel in bronze.

PLATE III


a b c

Bronze statuette of Victoria found in the river Saône at Lyon.

PLATE IV



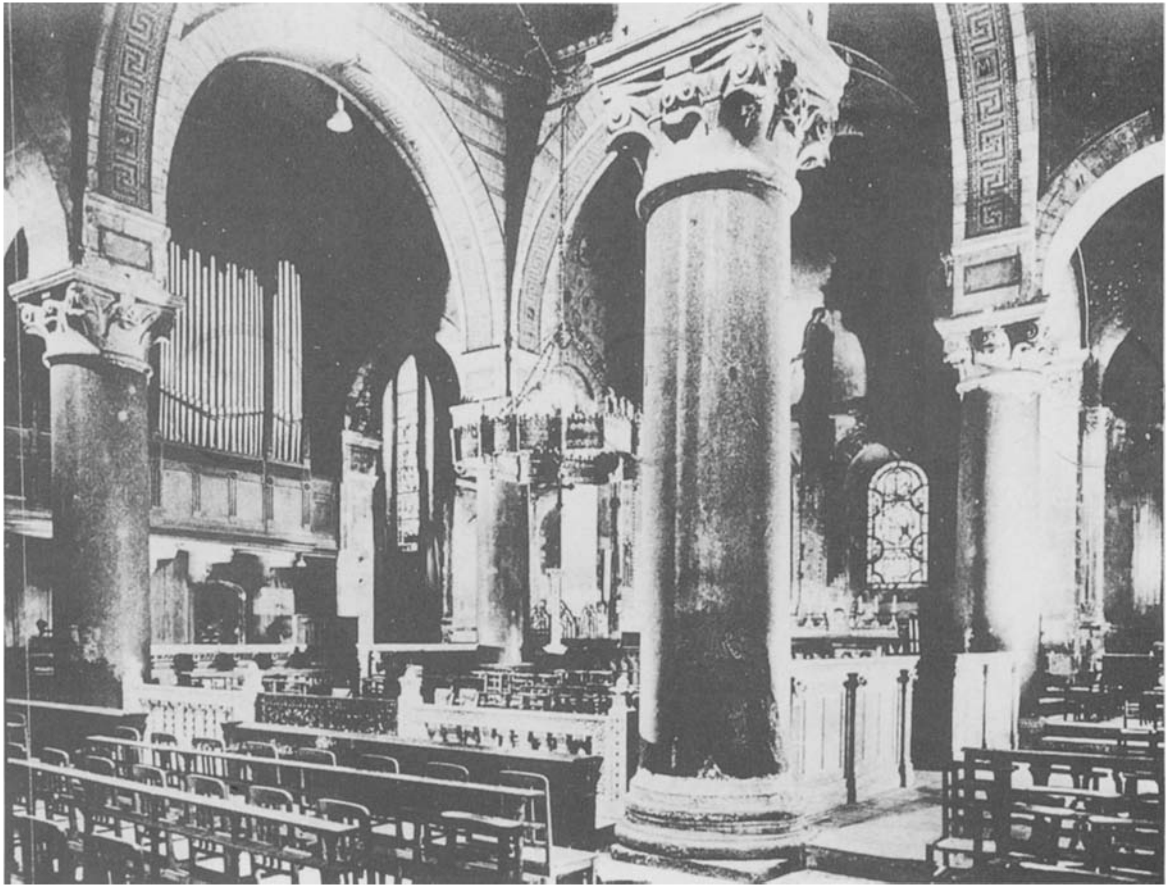
a

b

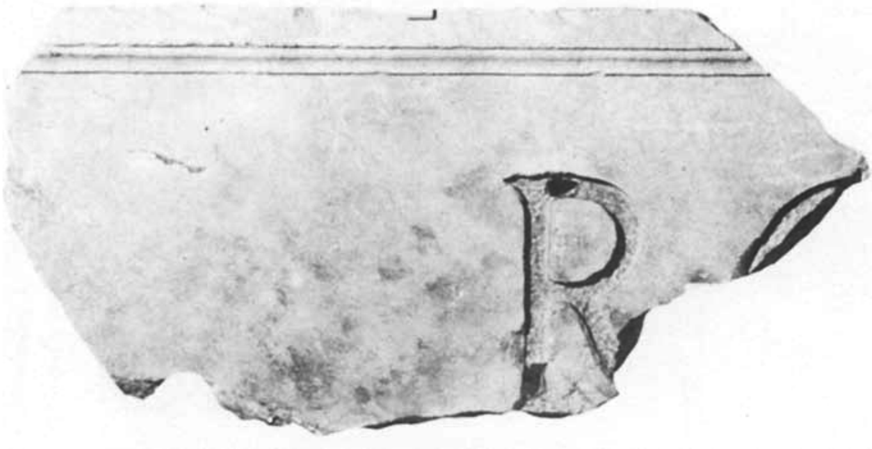
c

Fragments of medallions appliqué showing figure of Victory.

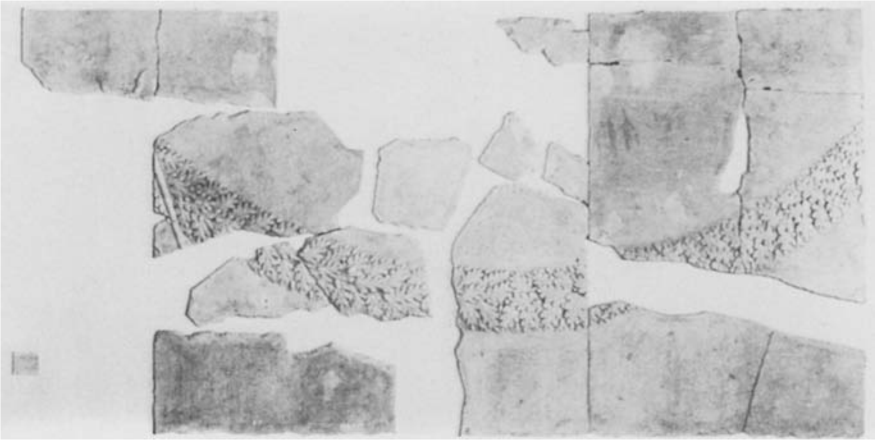
PLATE V



Pillars supporting the cupola of the church of St. Martin at Ainay.

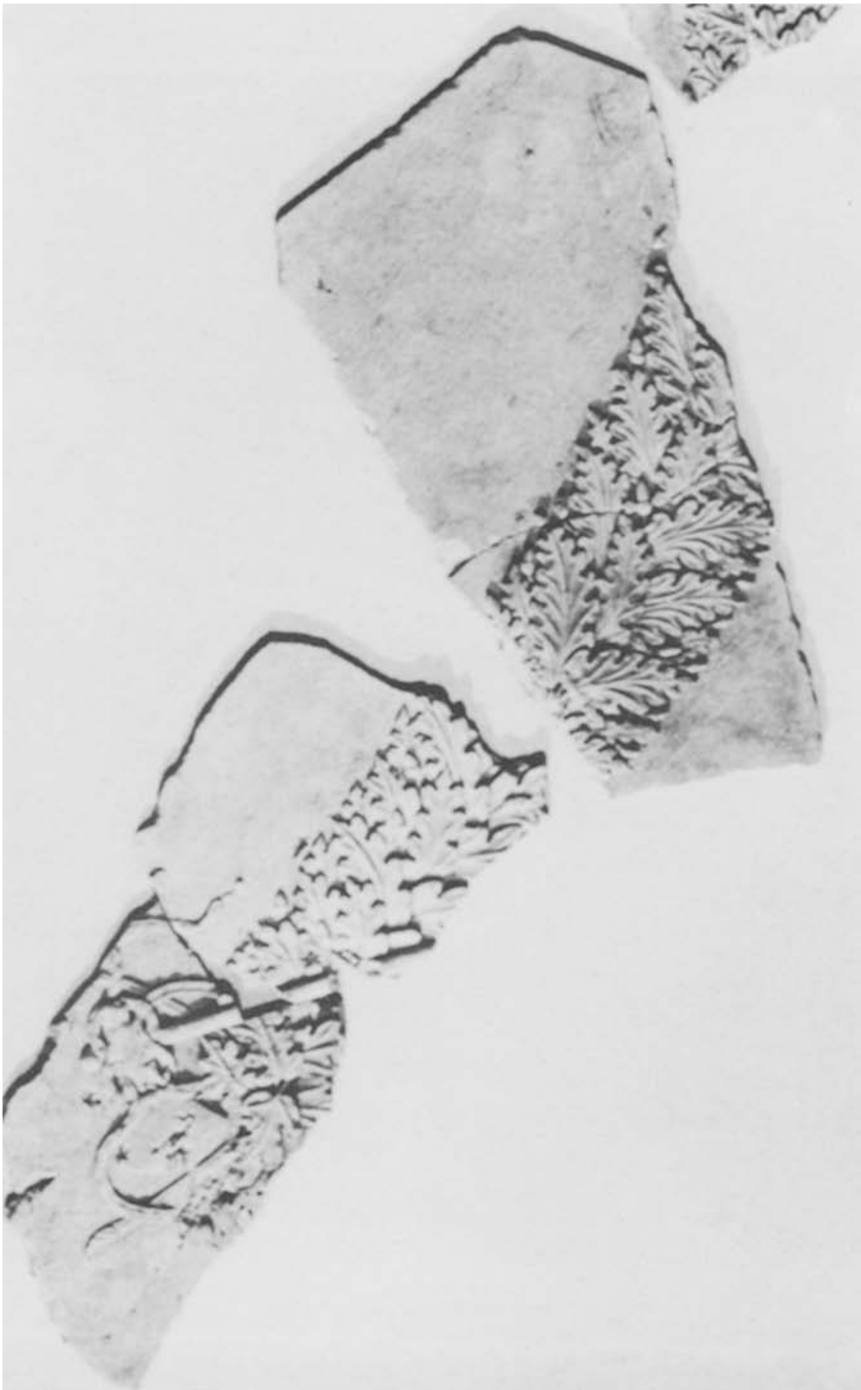


a) Marble fragment with letters R O



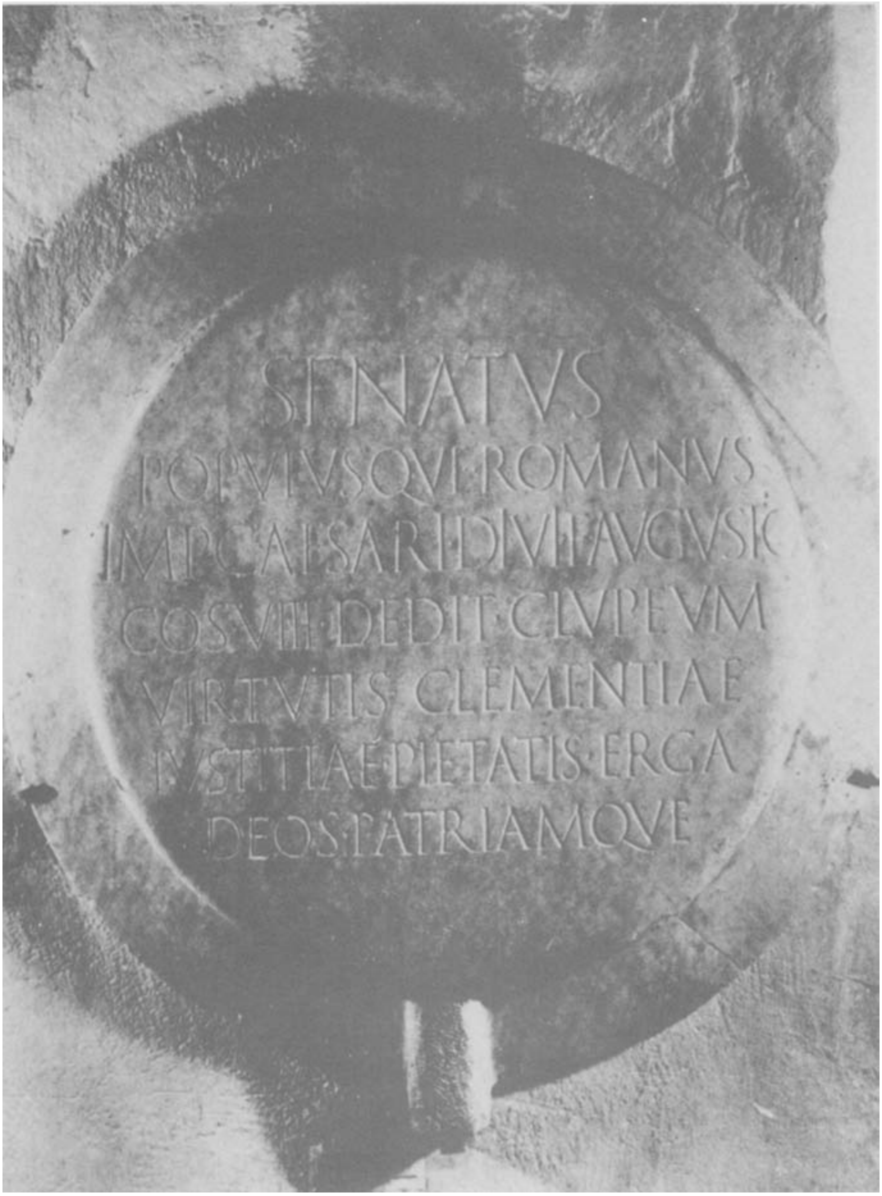
b) Fragments of marble relief found near the amphitheatre of Lugdunum.

PLATE VII



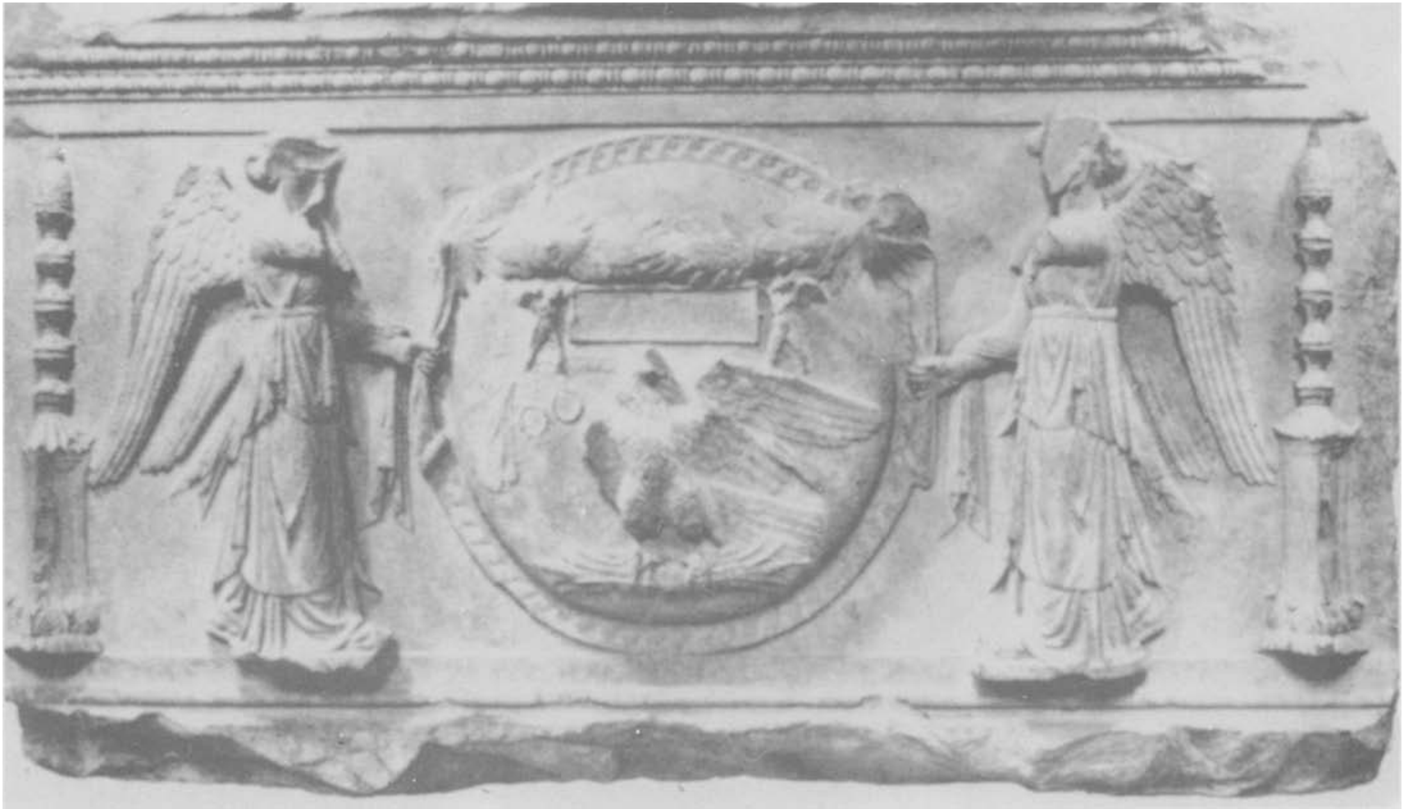
Remains of oak swag with axe.

PLATE VIII


SENATVS
POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS
IMP CAESARI DIVI F AVGVSTO
COS VIII DEDIT CLVPEVM
VIRTVTIS CLEMENTIAE
IVSTITIAE PIETATIS ERGA
DEOS PATRIAMQVE

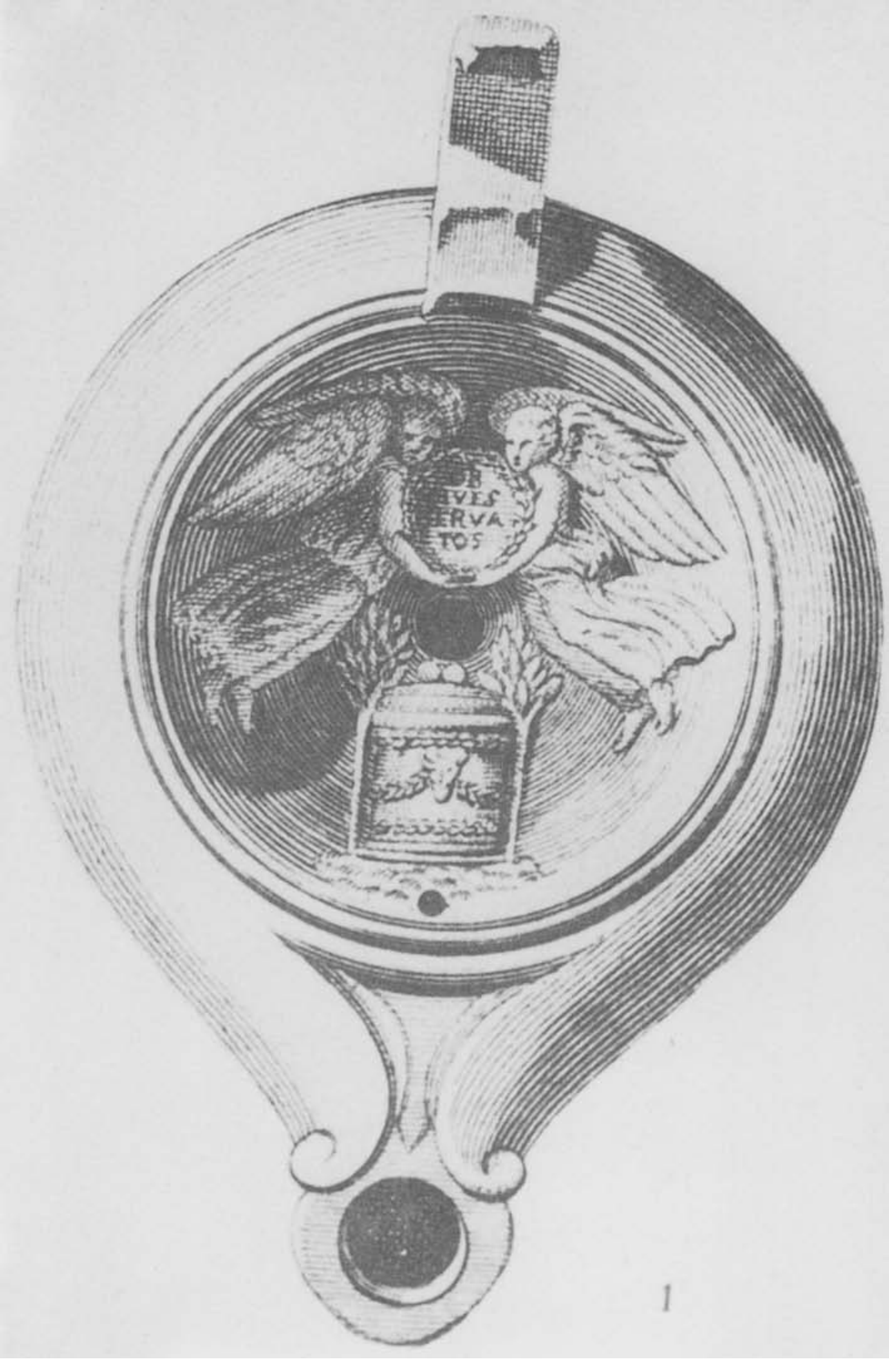
Marble shield found at Arles.

PLATE IX

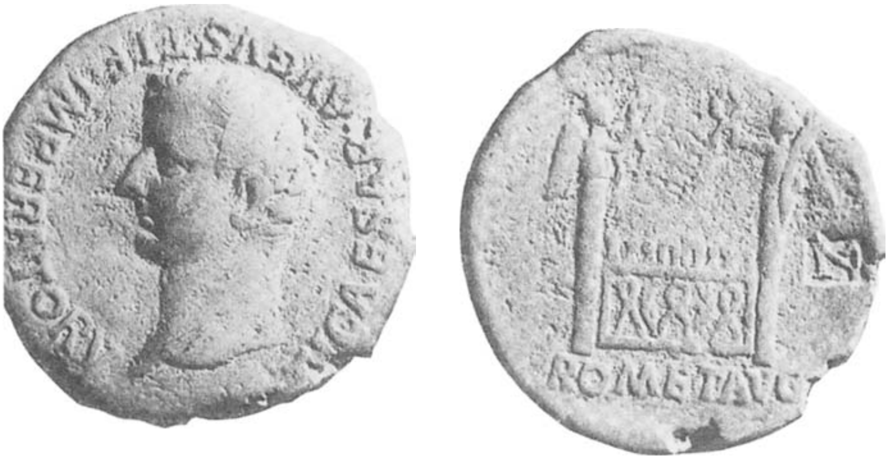


Limestone relief from S. Omobono.

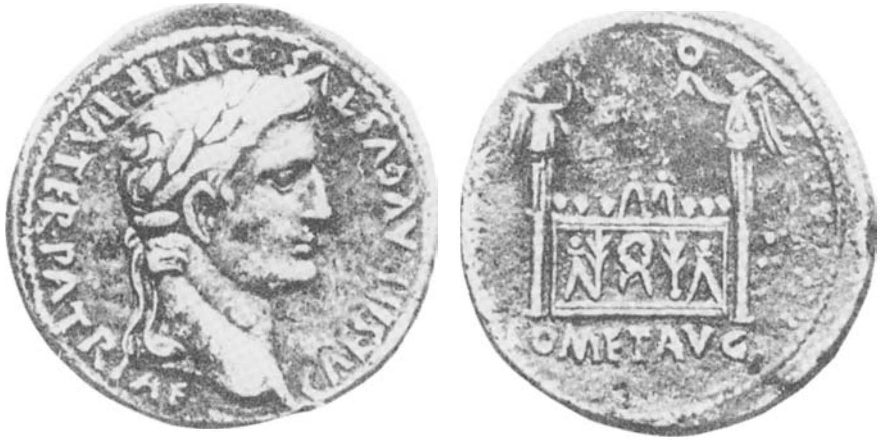
PLATE X


B
IVES
ERVA
TOS
1

Oil lamp with Augustan symbols.

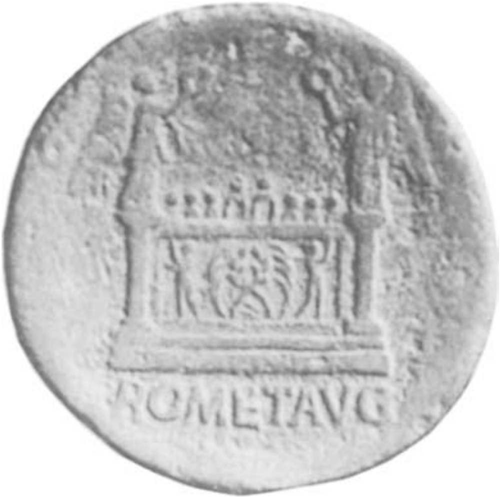


a) *Sestertius* of Tiberius, struck A.D. 8-11.

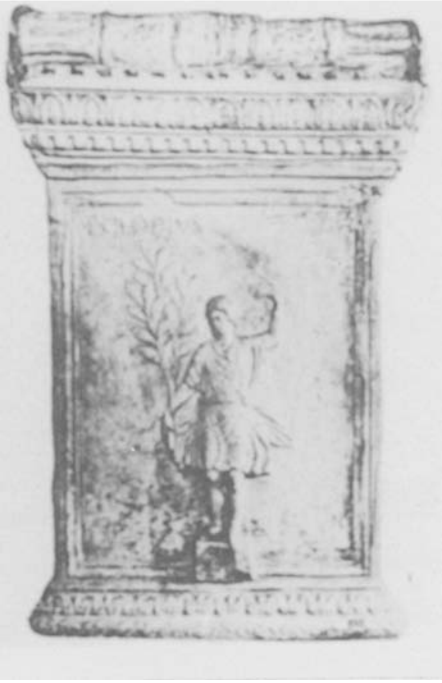


b) *Sestertius* of Augustus, struck 2 B.C.-A.D. 14.

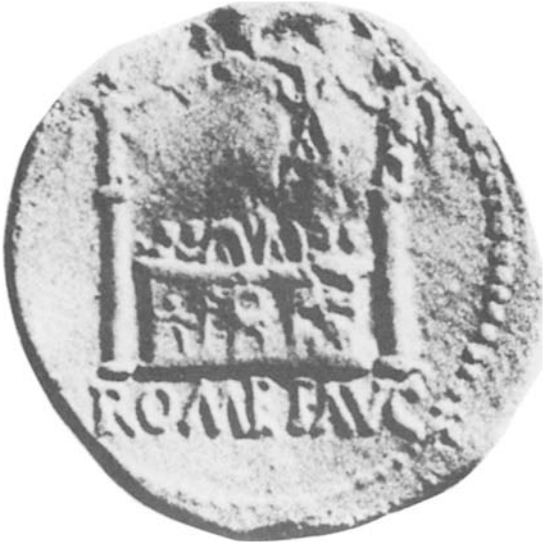
PLATE XII



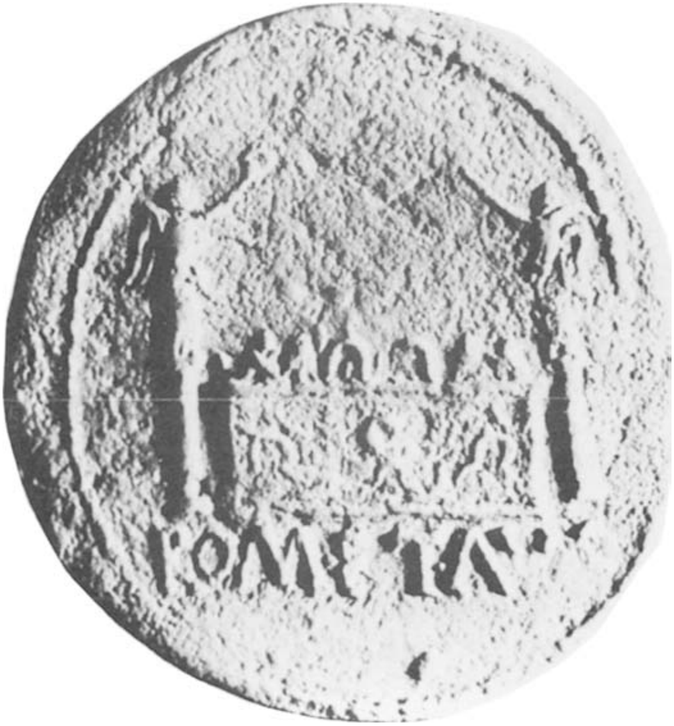
a) *Sestertius* of Tiberius, struck A.D. 8-11, showing reverse: male figures left and right of laurel branches.



b) Relief from Lares altar.

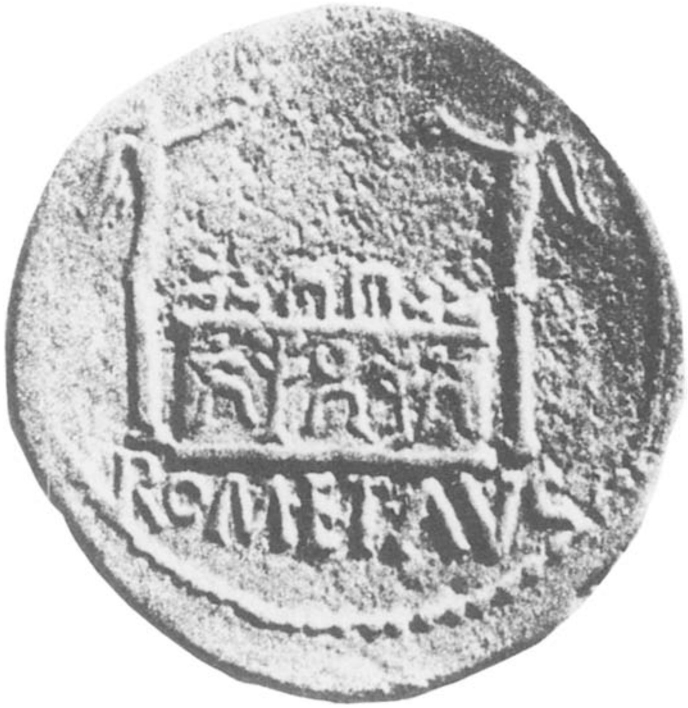


a) *As* from Port Haliguen, struck before 2 B.C.



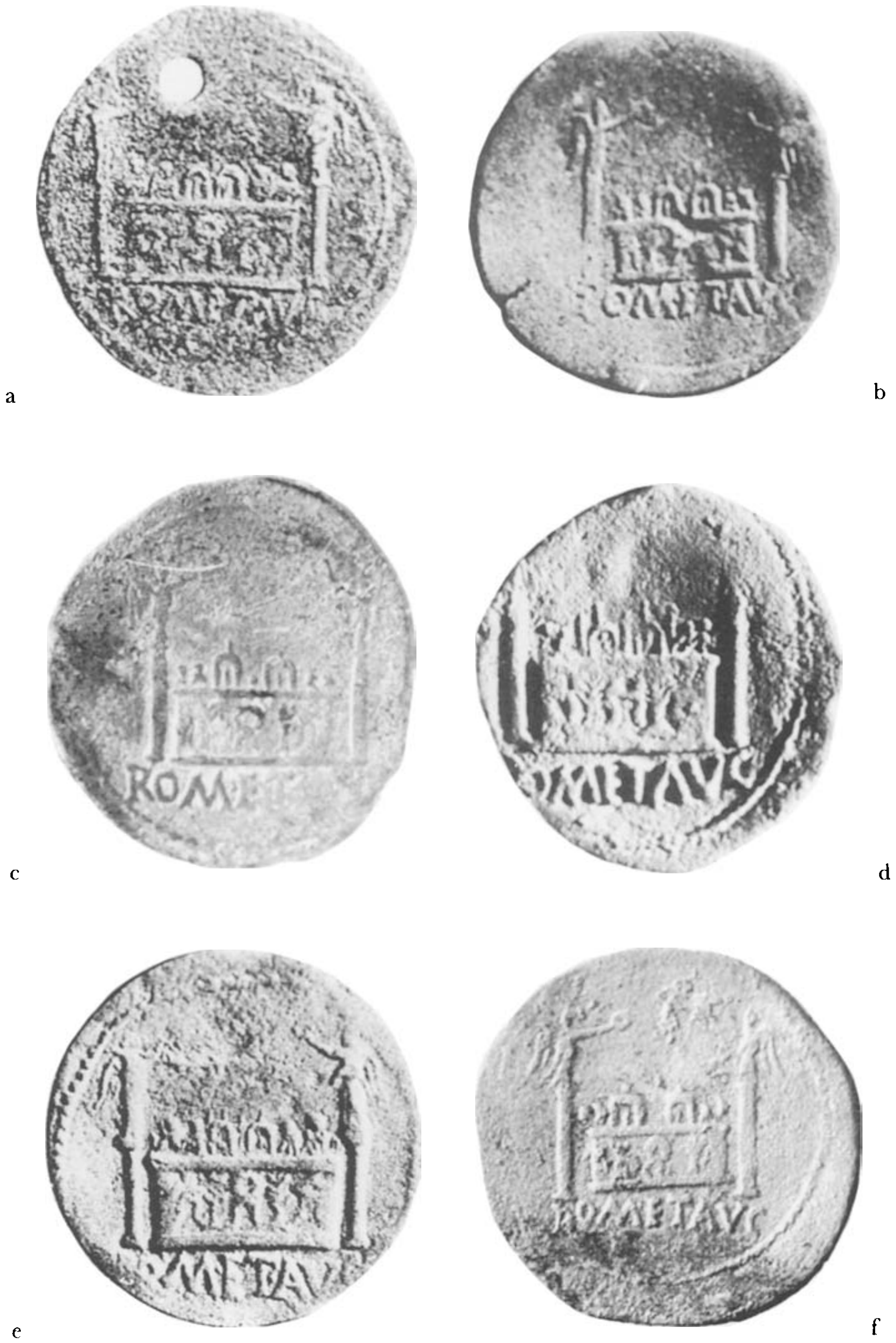
b) *Sestertius* of Augustus, struck before 2 B.C.

PLATE XIV



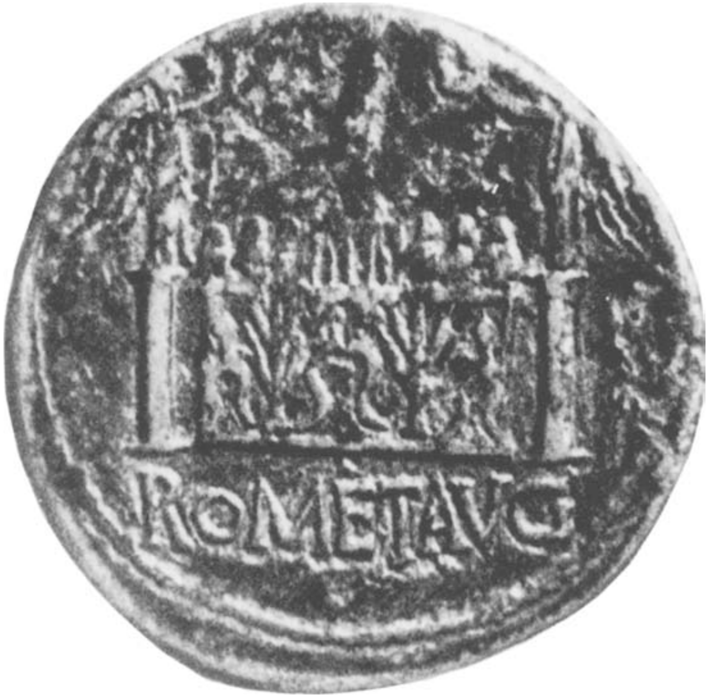
As from Port Haliguen, struck before 2 B.C.

PLATE XV

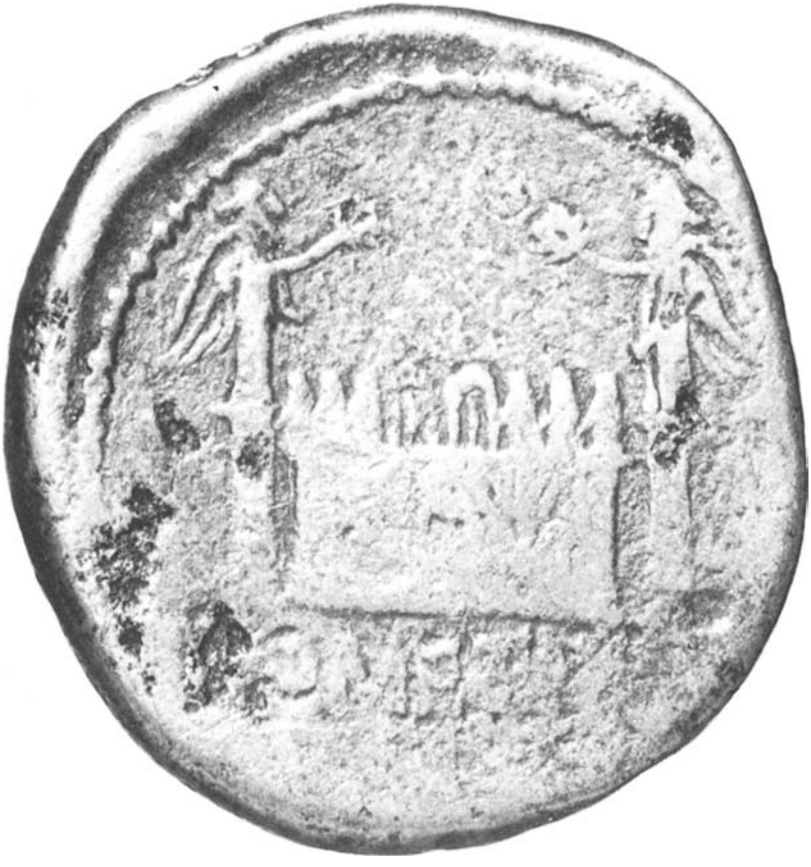


a) *Sestertius* of Augustus, struck before 2 B.C. b) *As* from Port Haliguen, struck before 2 B.C. c) *As* from Alflen (Mosel), struck before 2 B.C. d) *As* from Coll. de Luynes, struck before 2 B.C. e) *Sestertius* of Augustus, struck before 2 B.C. f) *As* from Alflen (Mosel), struck before 2 B.C.

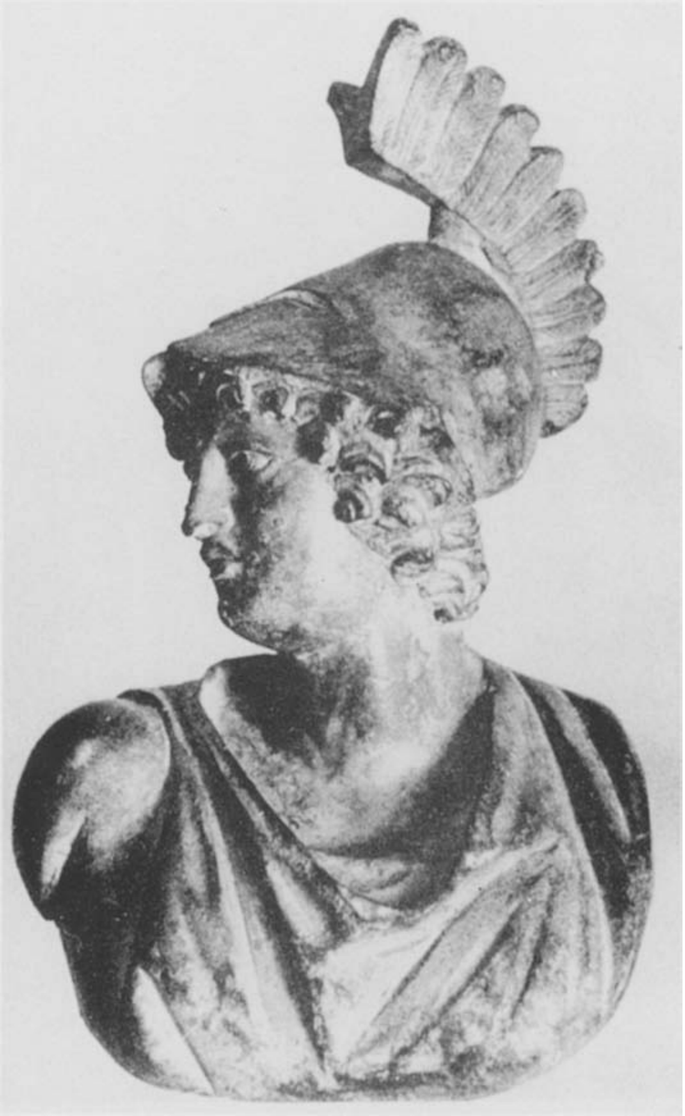
Plate XVI



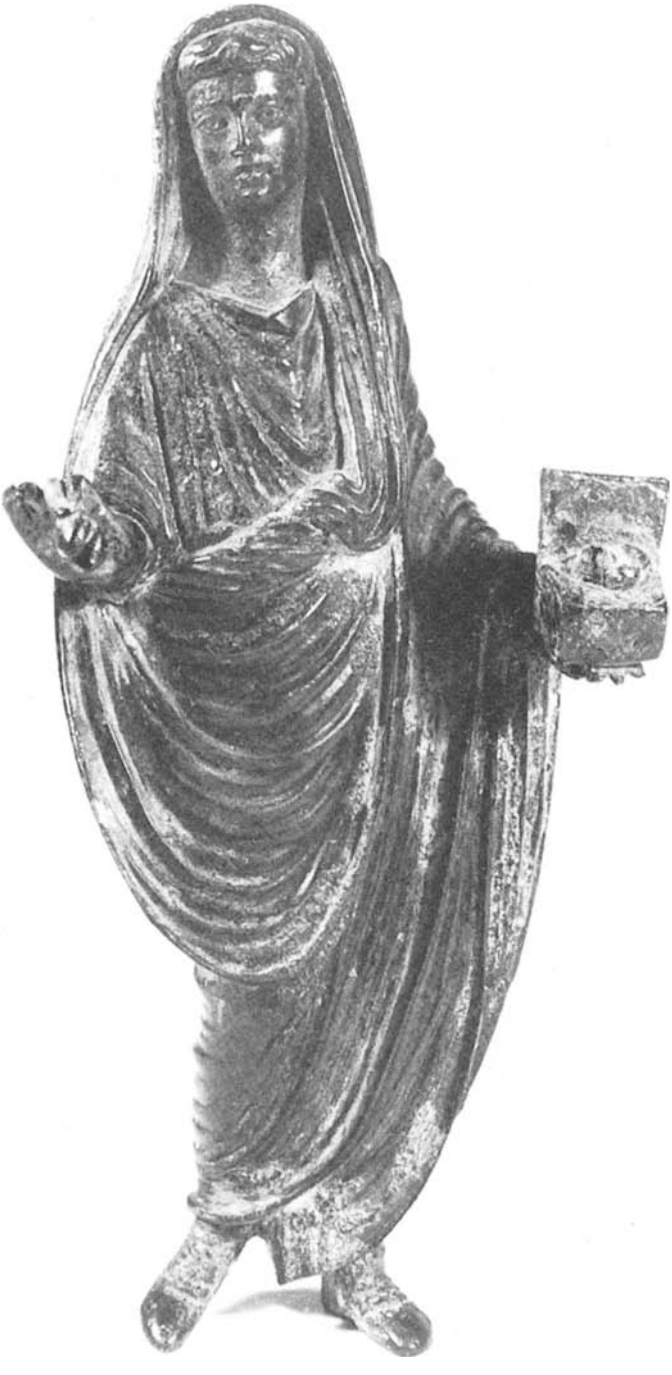
As of Augustus, struck before 2 B.C.



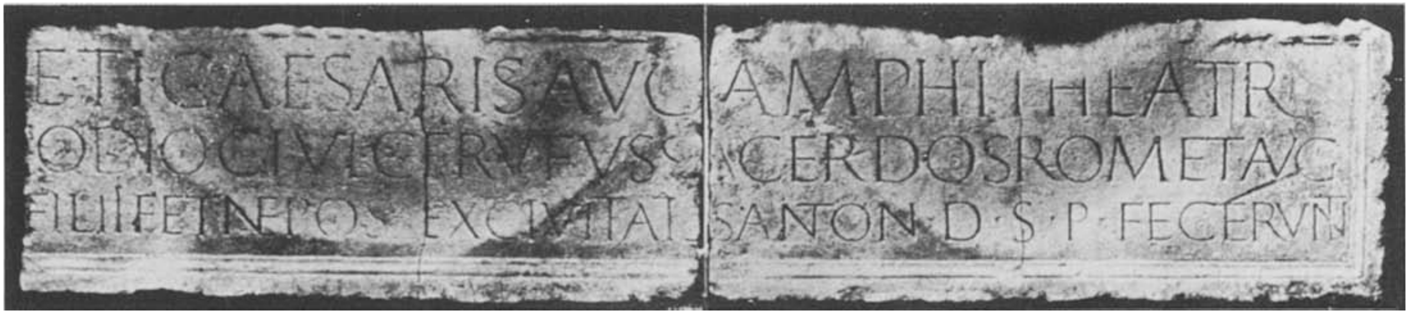
As of Augustus, struck before 2 B.C.



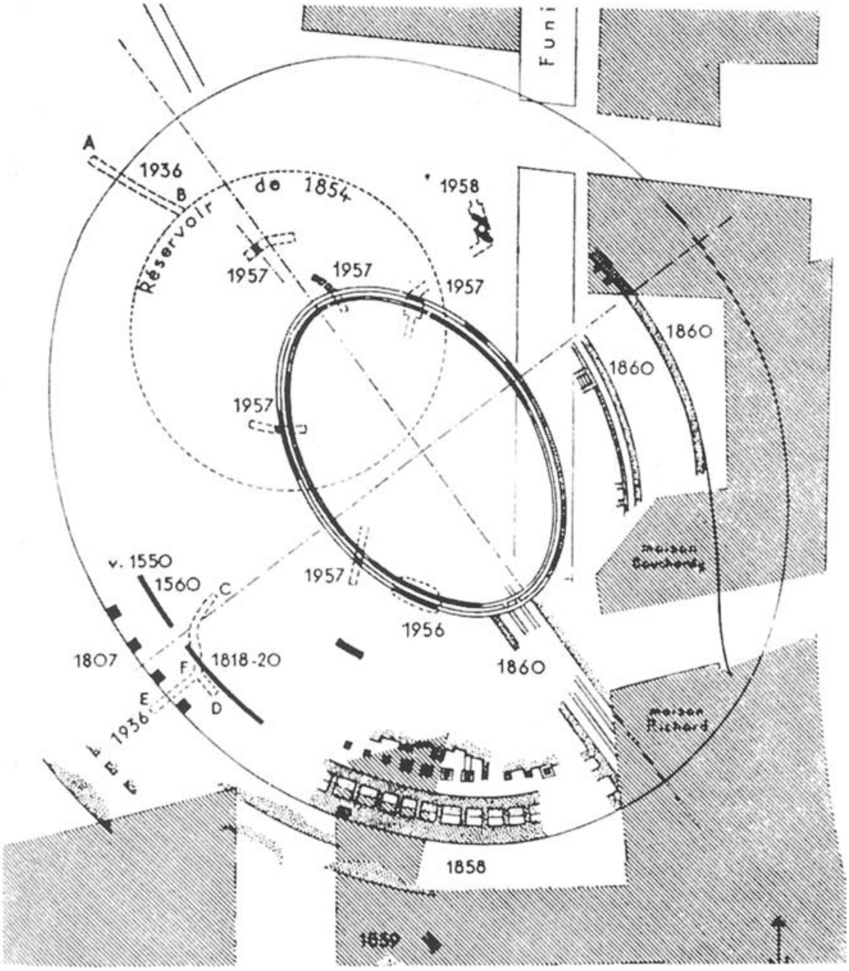
Bust of Goddess Roma from Beausoleil (Maritime Alps).



Bronze statuette of imperial priest holding box for income.

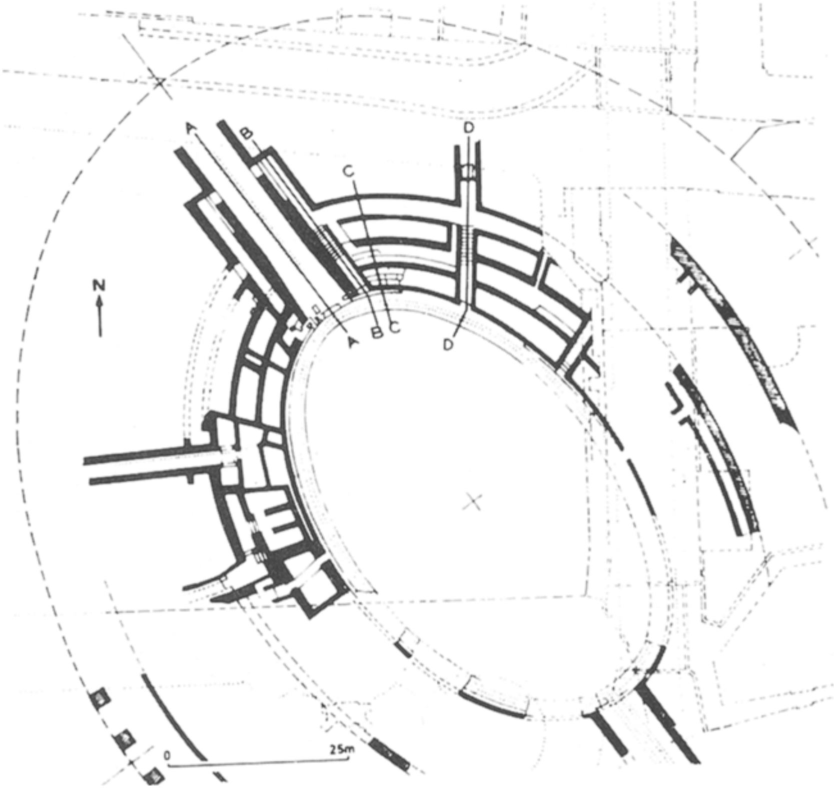

ETICAESARISAVG AMPHITHEATR
ODIOCIVLICRVFVSS ACERDOSROMETAVG
FILIIFETNEPOS EXCIVITAT SANTON·D·S·P·FECERVNT

Inscription recording the building of the Amphitheatre of the Three Gauls.


Funi
A
1936
B
Réservoir de 1854
1958
1957
1957
1957
1957
1860
1860
maison Boucherdy
v. 1550
1560
C
1957
1956
1807
F
1818-20
1860
E
D
1936
maison Richard
1858
1859

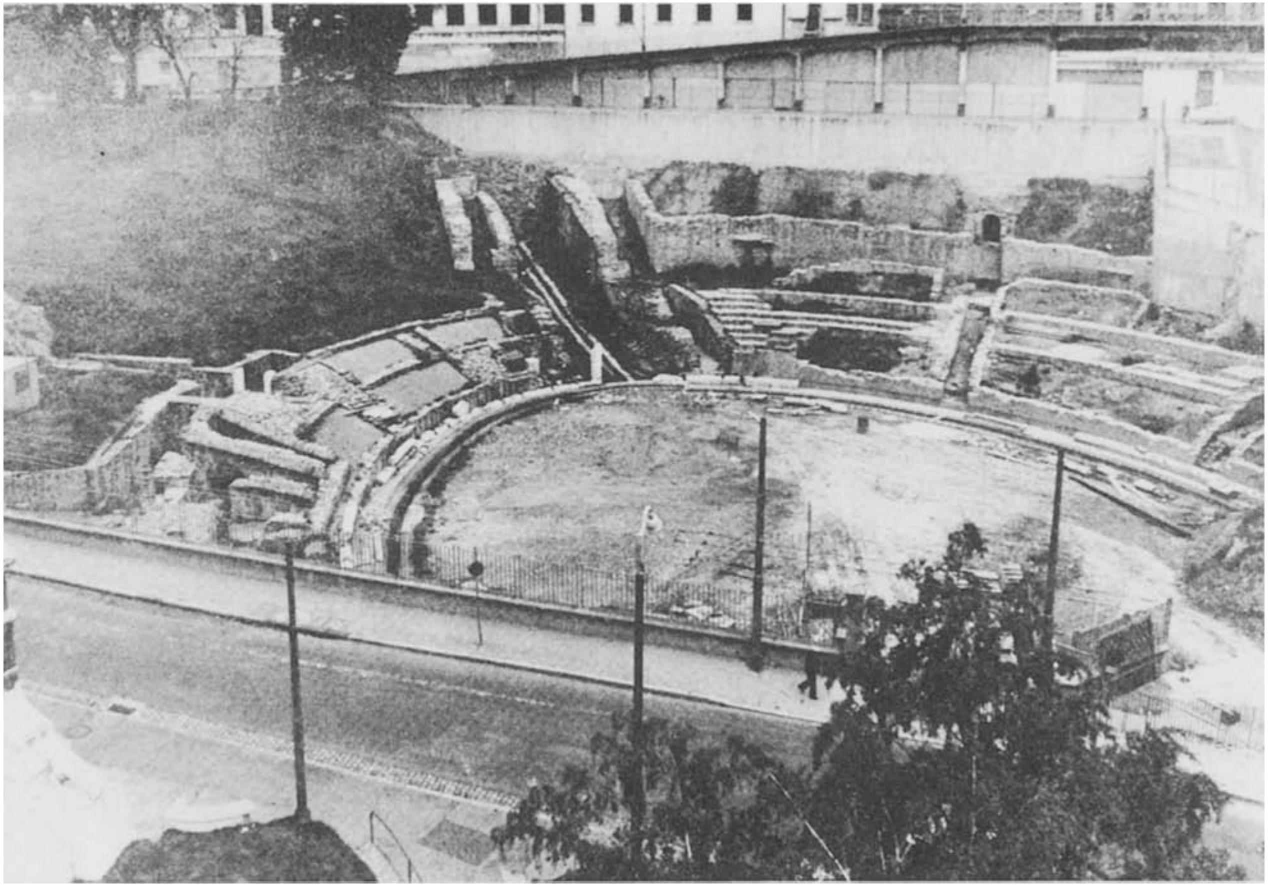
Plan of the Amphitheatre of the Three Gauls.

PLATE XXII


A
B
C
D
N
A B C
D
0
25m

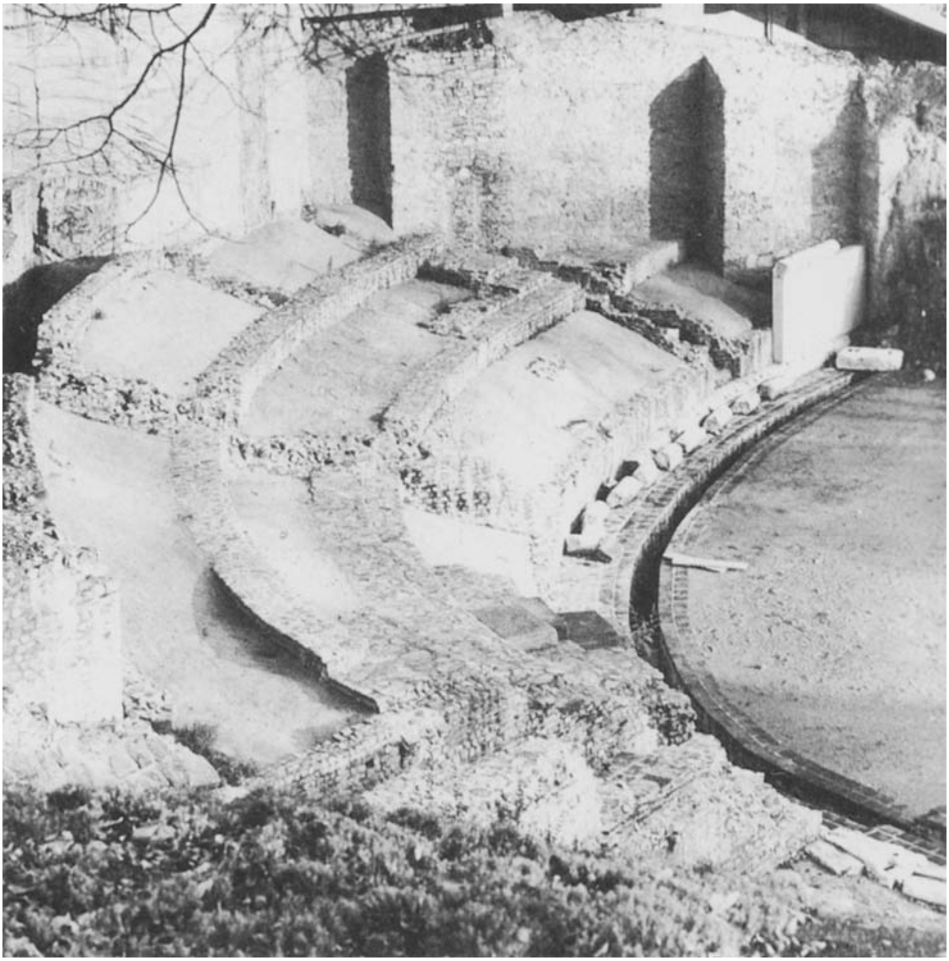
The Amphitheatre of the Three Gauls (1978).

PLATE XXIII



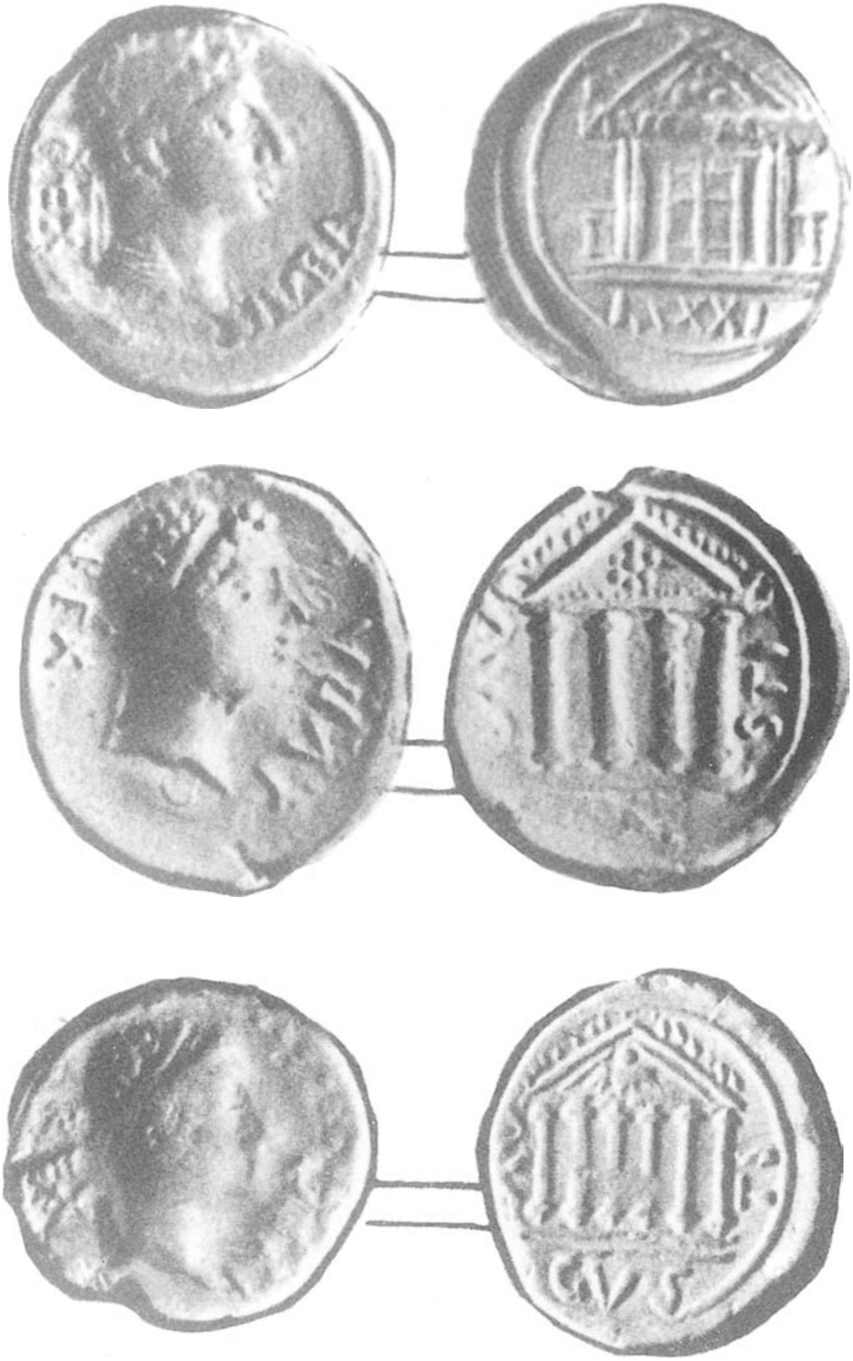
The amphitheatre at Lyon.

PLATE XXIV



The amphitheatre at Lyon.

PLATE XXV

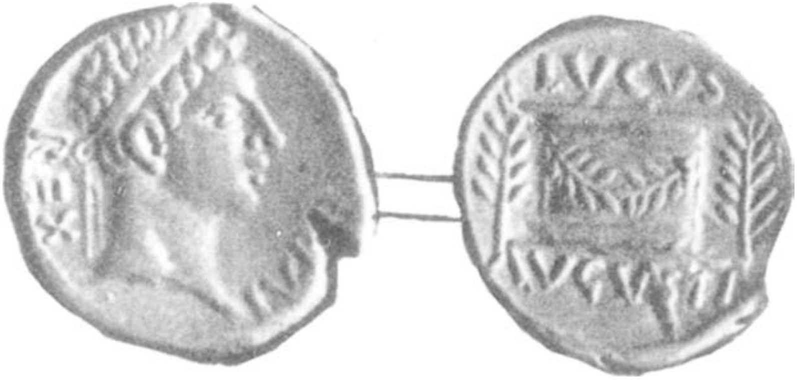


a

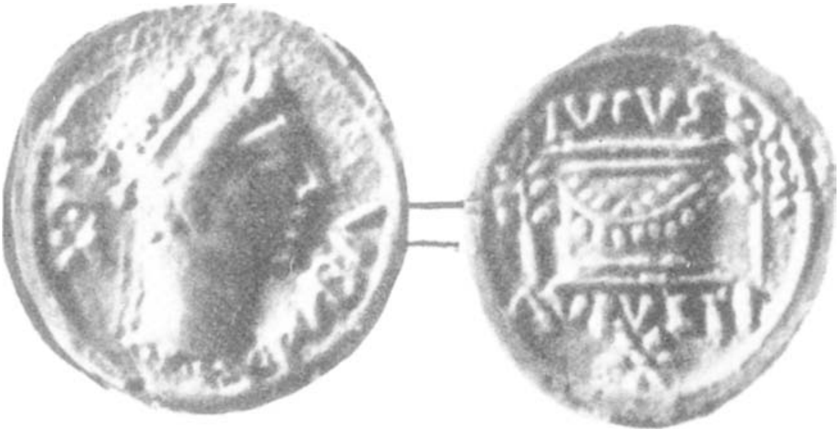
b

c

The Temple of Augustus at Iol Caesarea.


LVCVS
AVGVSTI

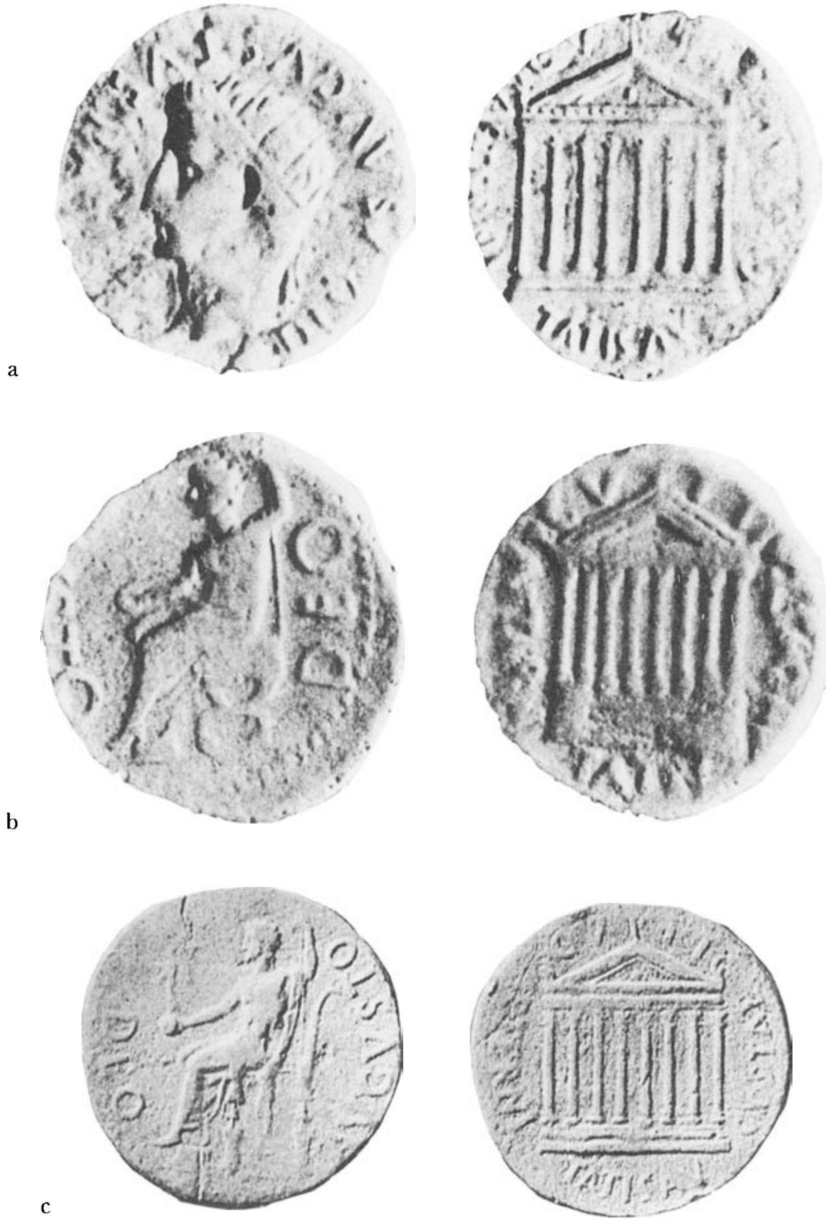
a



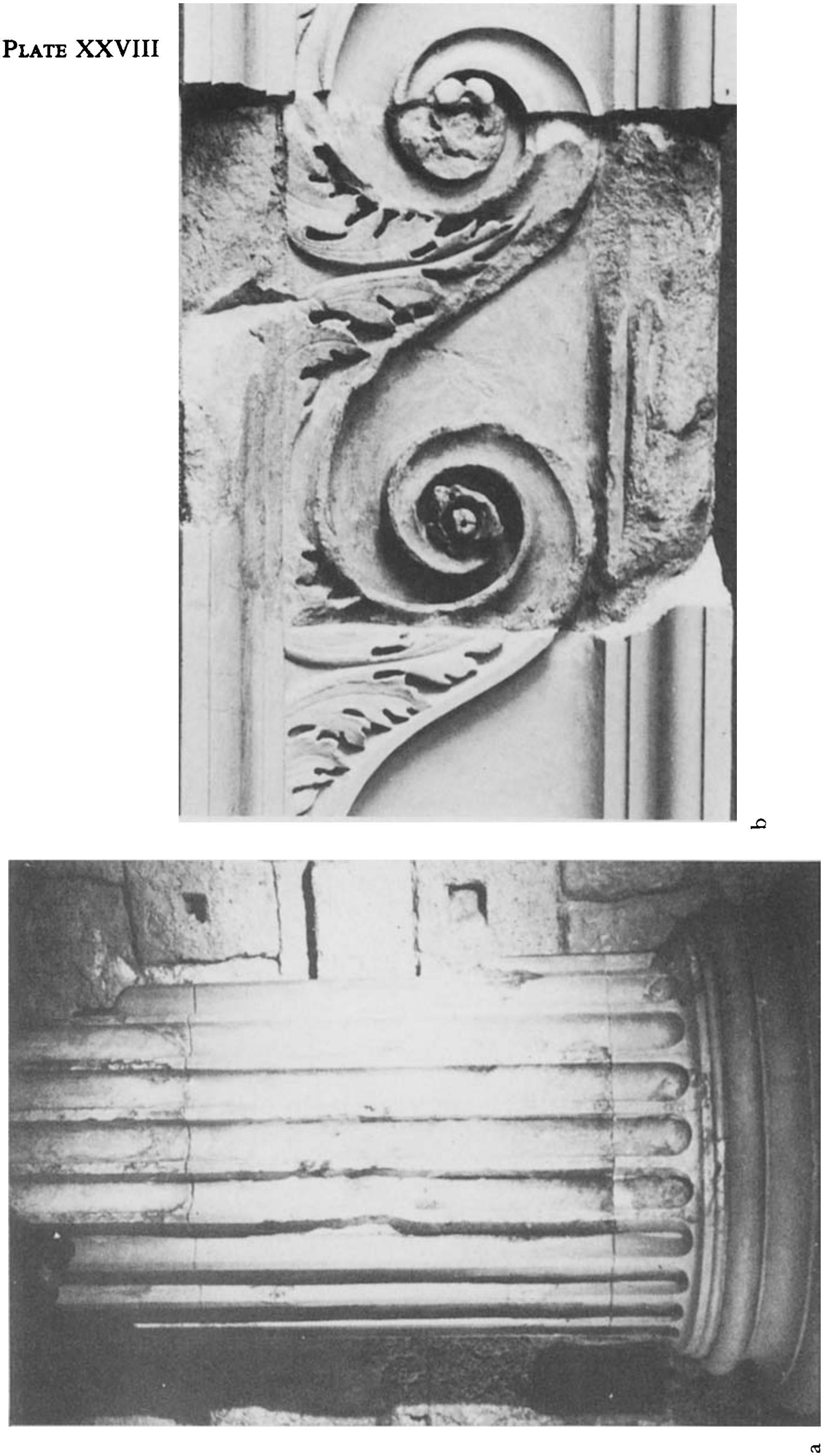
b

The altar within the grove of Juba II at Iol Caesarea.

Plate XXVII



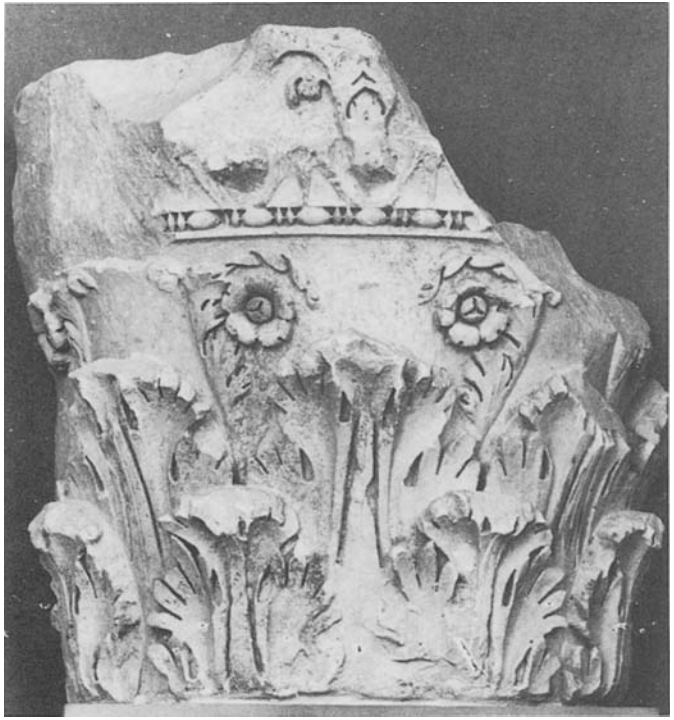
Colonial issues of Tarraco struck under Tiberius, showing reverse: the "Temple of Augustus".



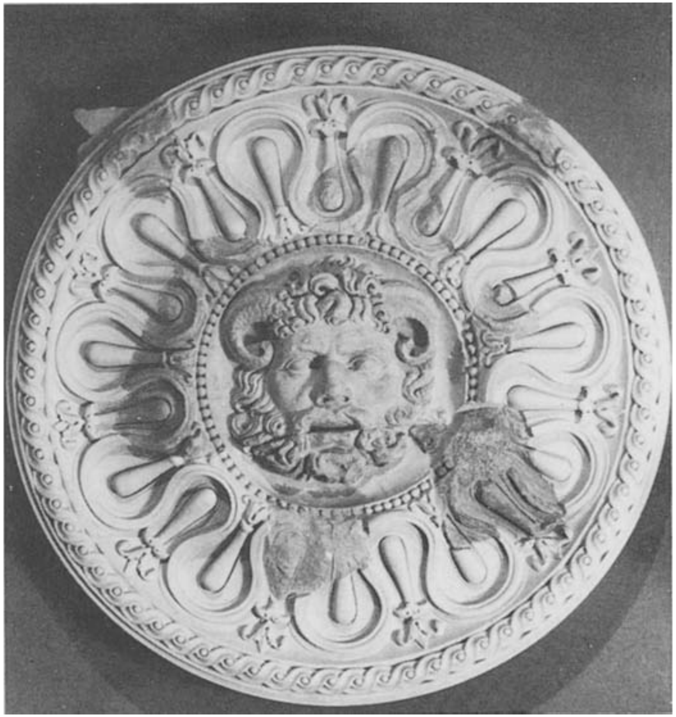
a

b

Marble remains attributed to the "Temple of Augustus".

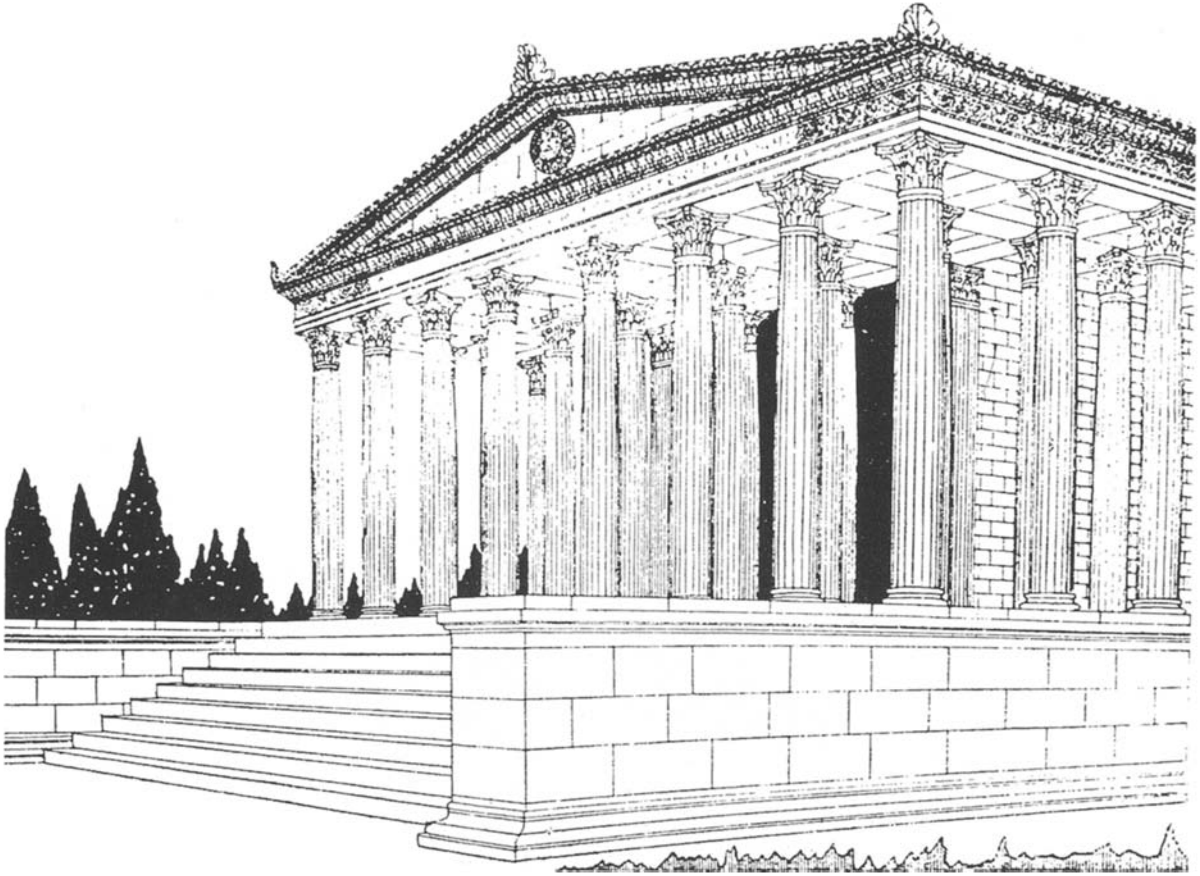


a) Composite capital from upper terrace of Tarraco.

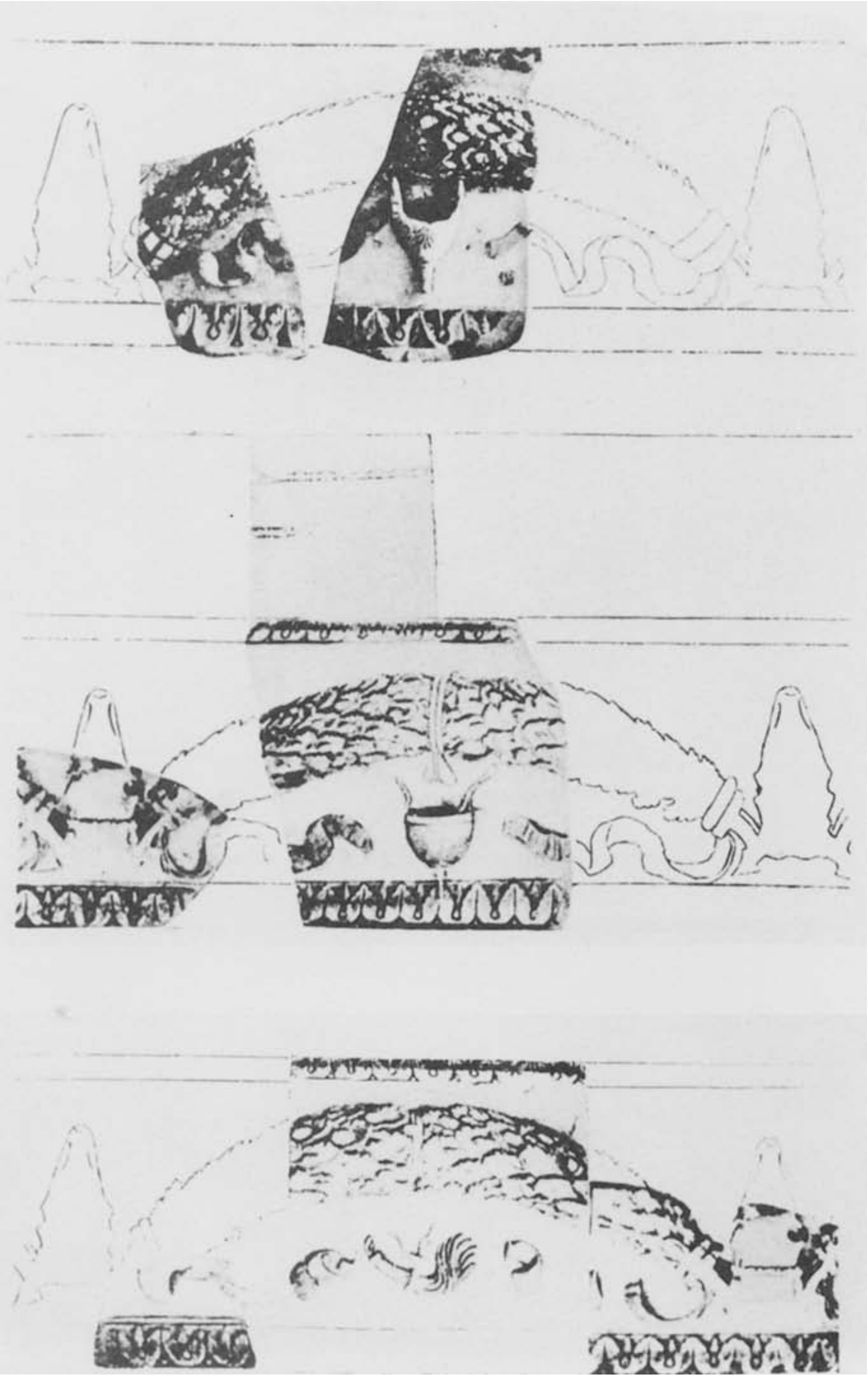


b) Phalera of Jupiter Ammon.

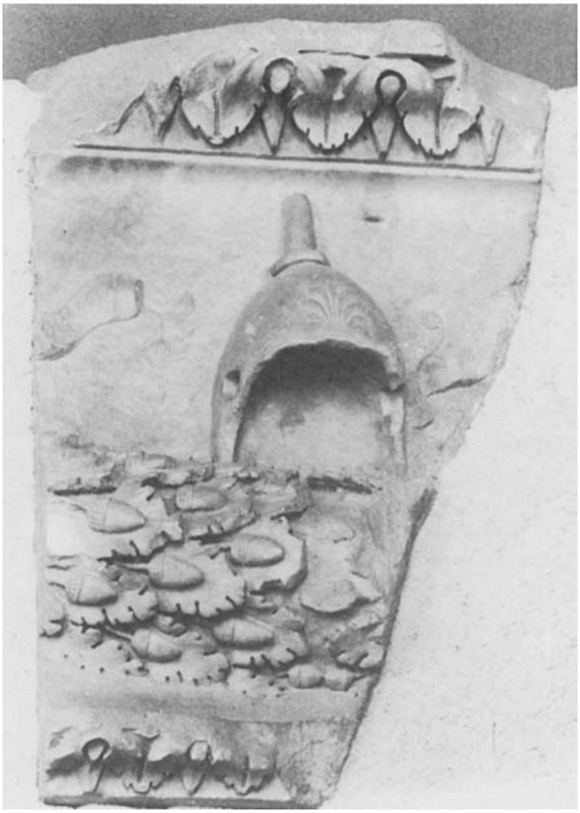
PLATE XXX



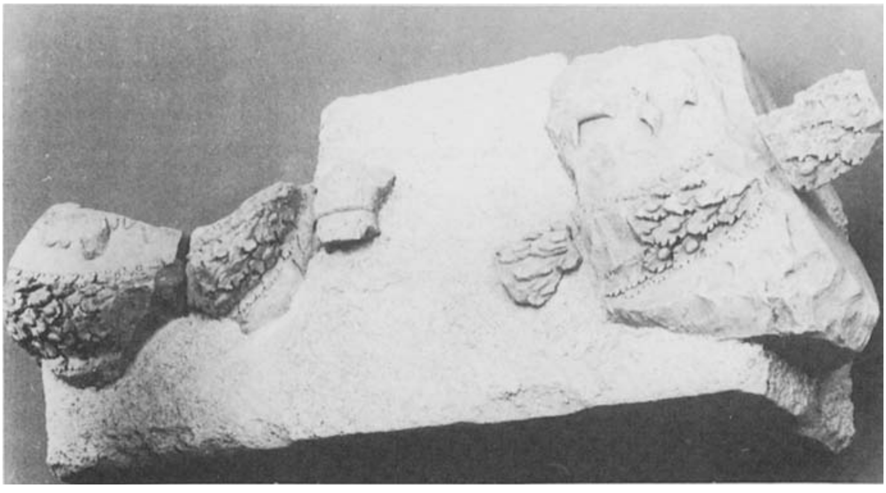
Reconstruction of provincial temple of Tarraconensis.



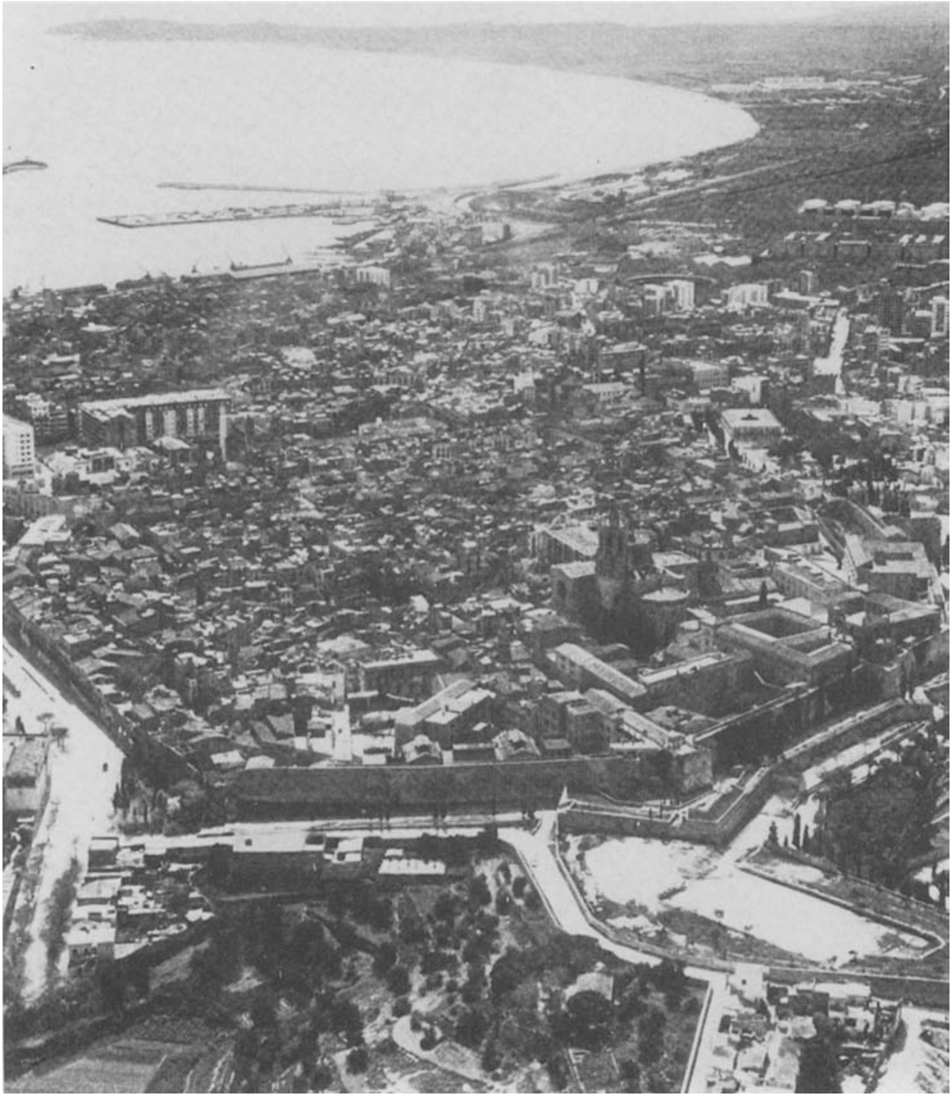
Sections of frieze from provincial temple.



a) Insignia of provincial high priest with oak swag.

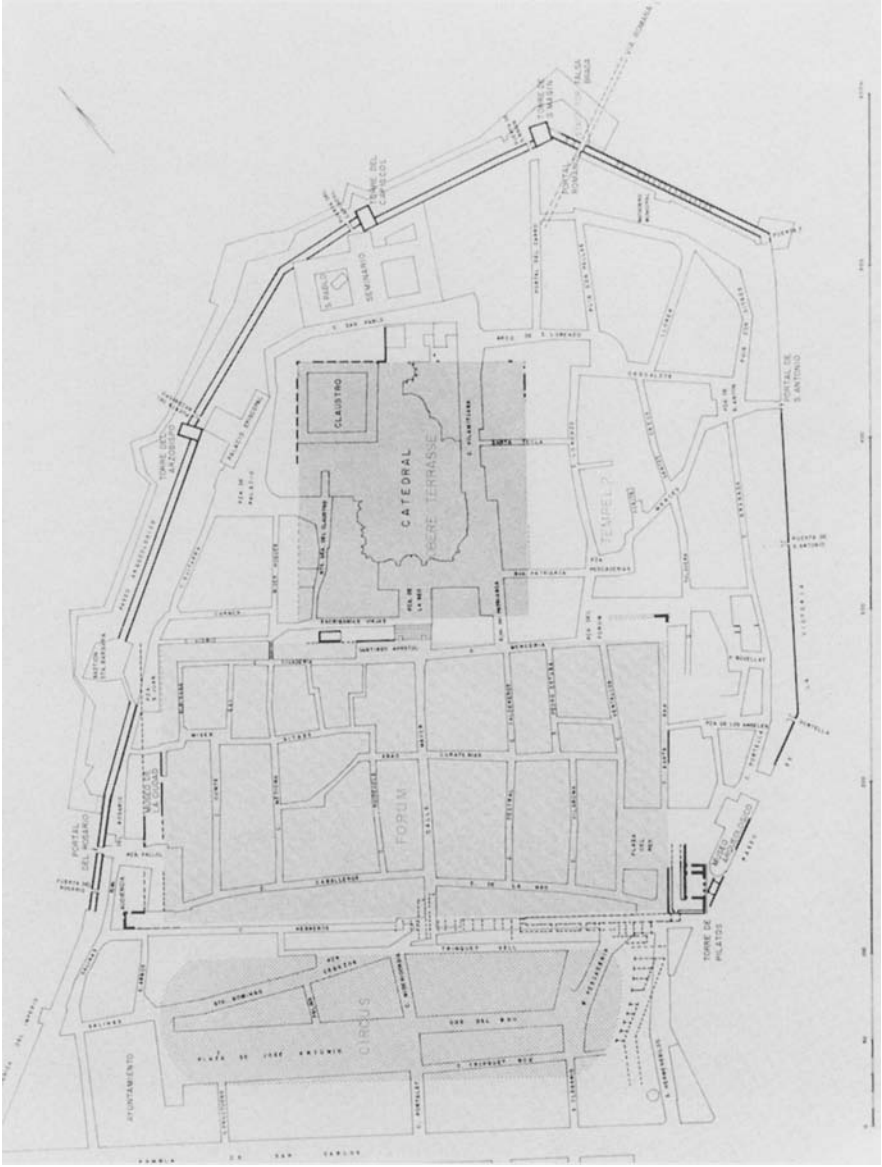


b) Civic crown on temple frieze.



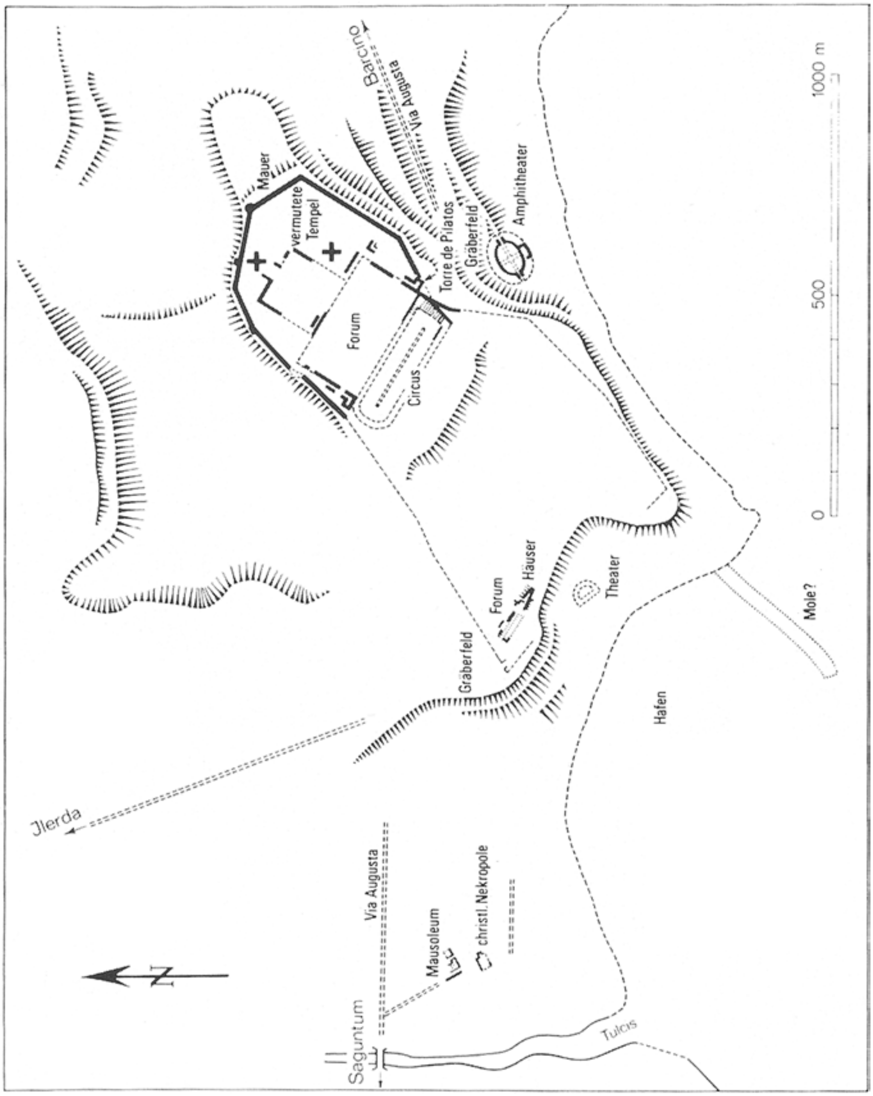
Aerial view of mediaeval cathedral of Tarragona.

Plate XXXIV


CLAUSTRO
CATEDRAL
FORUM
CIRCUS
SEMINARIO
S. PABLO
TORRE DEL CAPISCOL
TORRE DE S. MAGIN
TORRE DEL ARZOBISPO
PORTAL DEL ROSARIO
PORTAL DE S. ANTONIO
TORRE DE PILATOS
MUSEO DE LA CIUDAD
AYUNTAMIENTO
PLAZA DE JOSE ANTONIO
RAMBLA DE SAN CARLOS

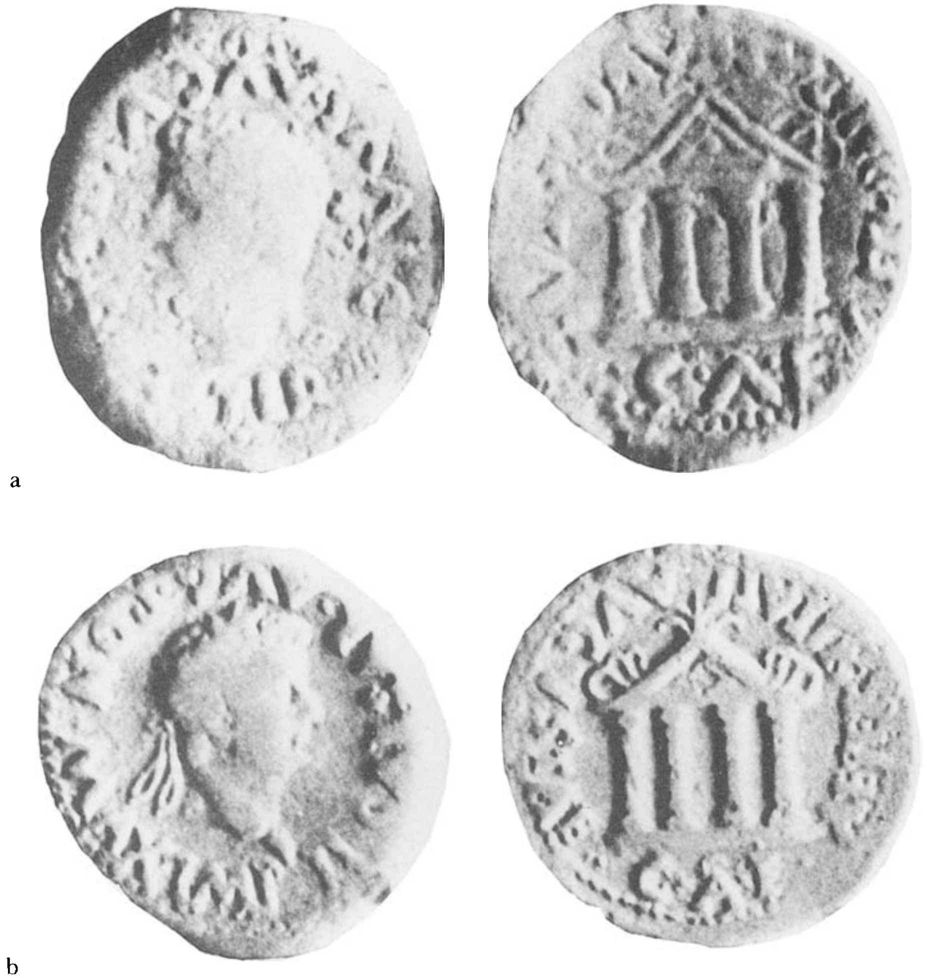
Street plan of upper-city of Tarragona.

PLATE XXXV

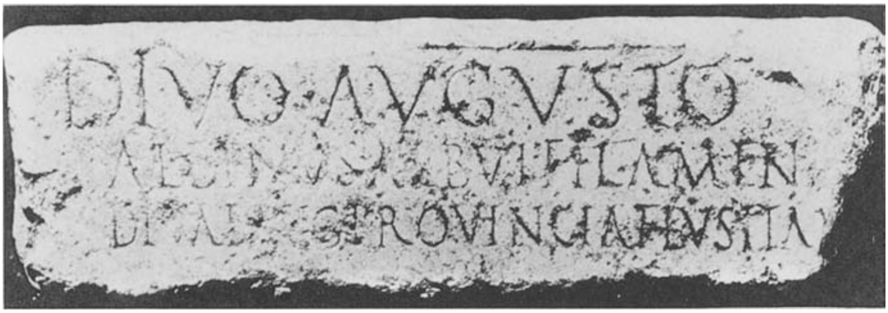

Barcino
Via Augusta
Amphitheater
Gräberfeld
Torre de Pilatos
Mauer
vermutete Tempel
Forum
Circus
Häuser
Forum
Theater
Gräberfeld
Mole?
Hafen
Jlerda
Via Augusta
Mausoleum
christl. Nekropole
Saguntum
Tulcis
N
0
500
1000 m

Plan of Roman city of Tarraco.

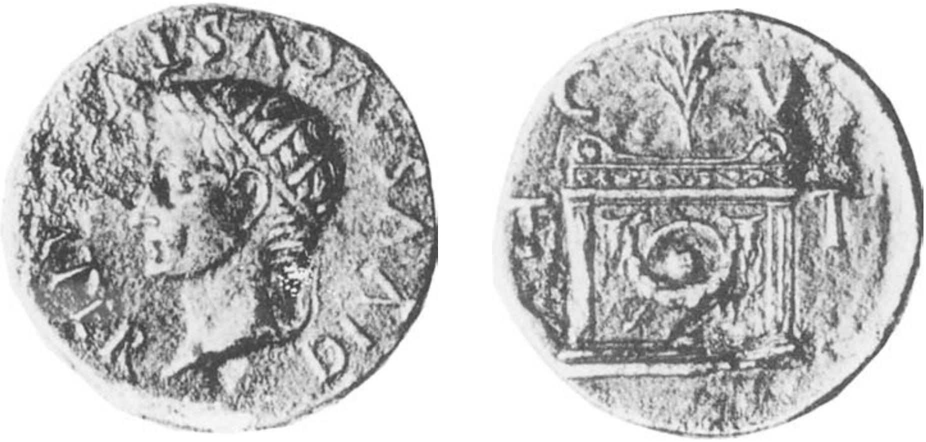
PLATE XXXVI



Colonial issues of Emerita struck under Tiberius, showing reverse: provincial temple of Lusitania.

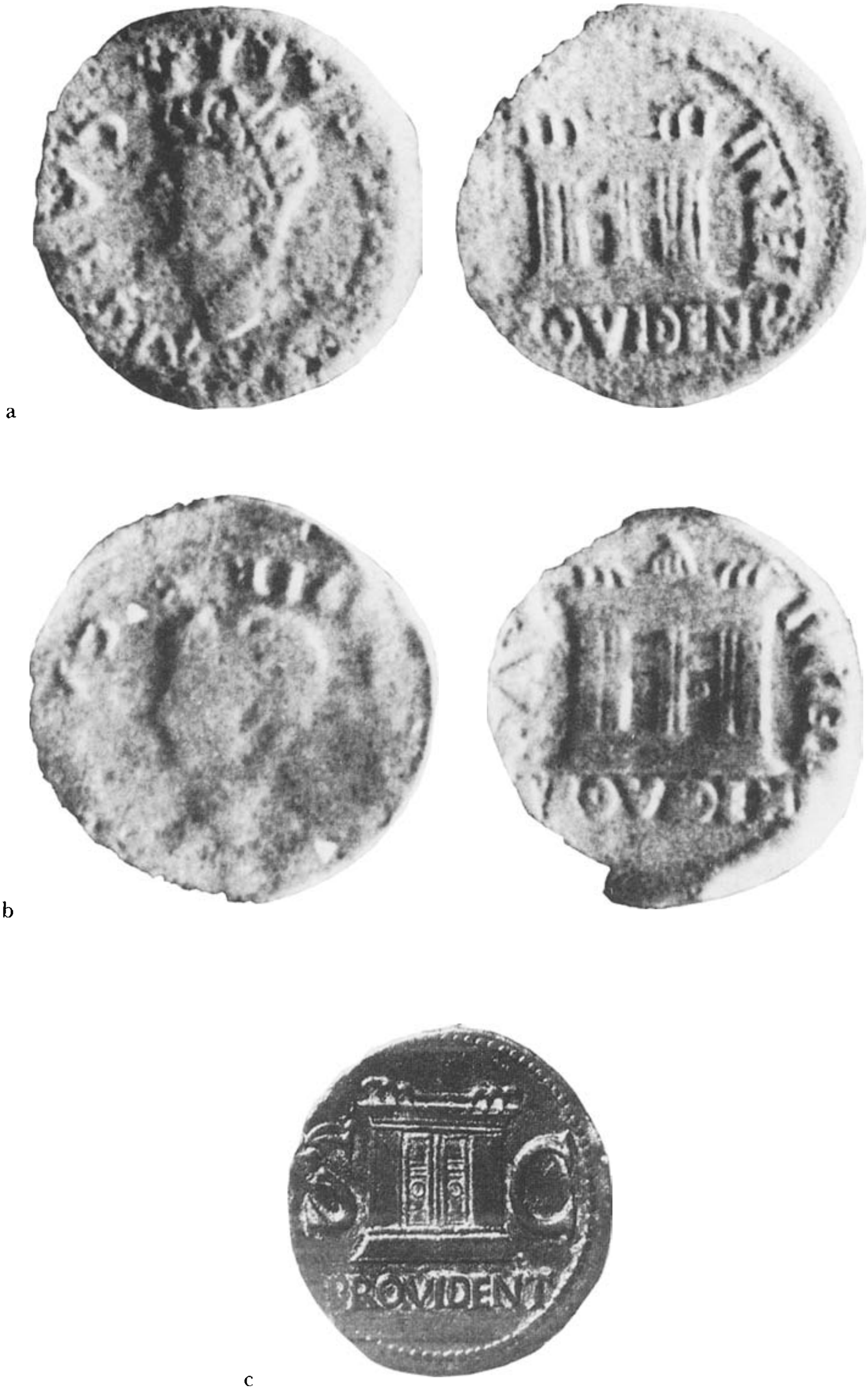

DIVO·AVGVSTO
FLAMEN
PROVINCIAE LVSITA

a) Dedication to Divus Augustus by provincial priest of Lusitania.



b) Coin of Tarraco struck under Tiberius, showing reverse: the "Altar of Augustus".

PLATE XXXVIII


a
OVIDENT
b
c
PROVIDENT

a, b) Coins of Emerita, struck under Tiberius, showing reverse: the altar of Providentia; c) Undated *as* of Tiberius, showing reverse: the altar of Providentia at Rome.